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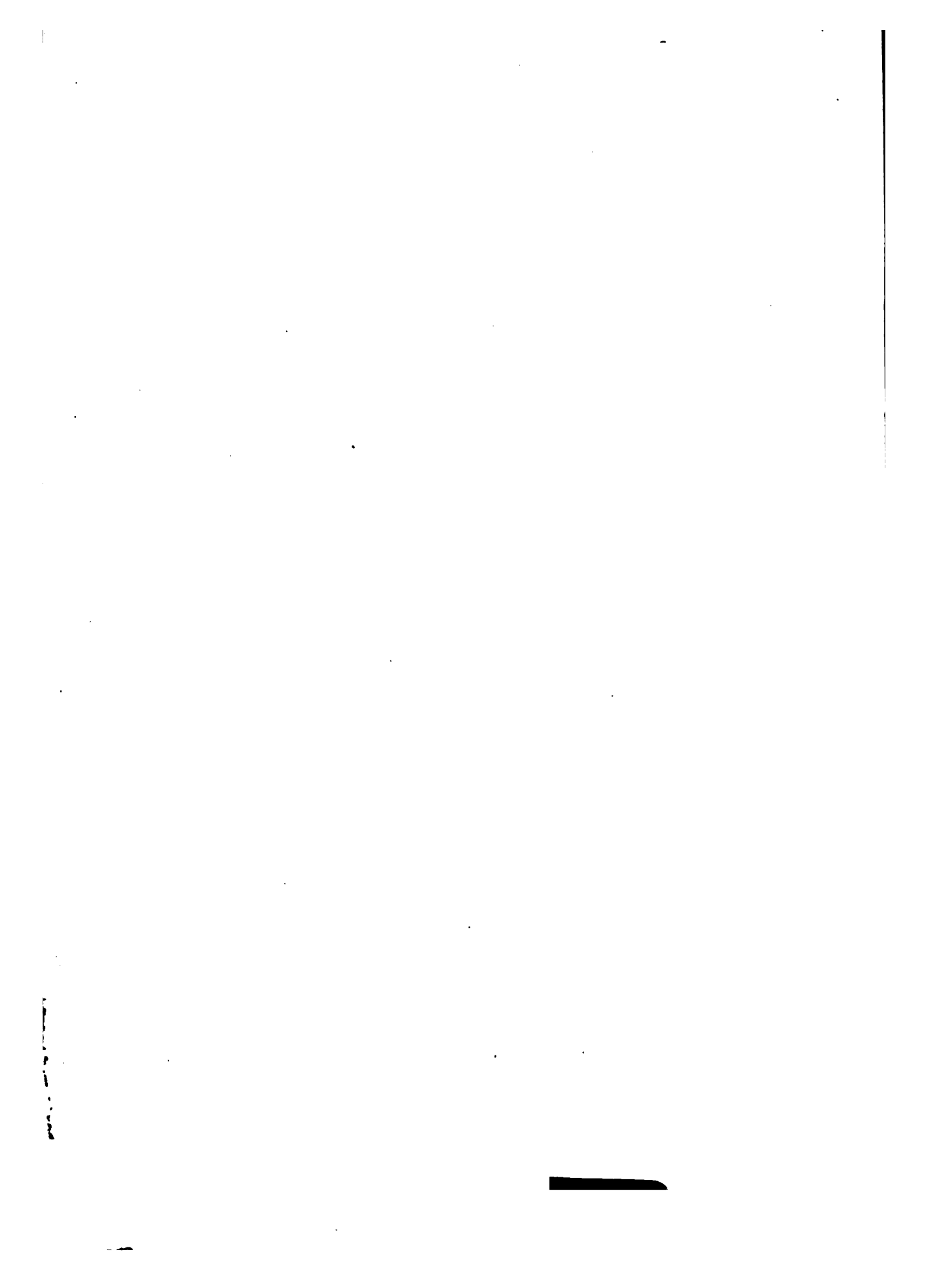
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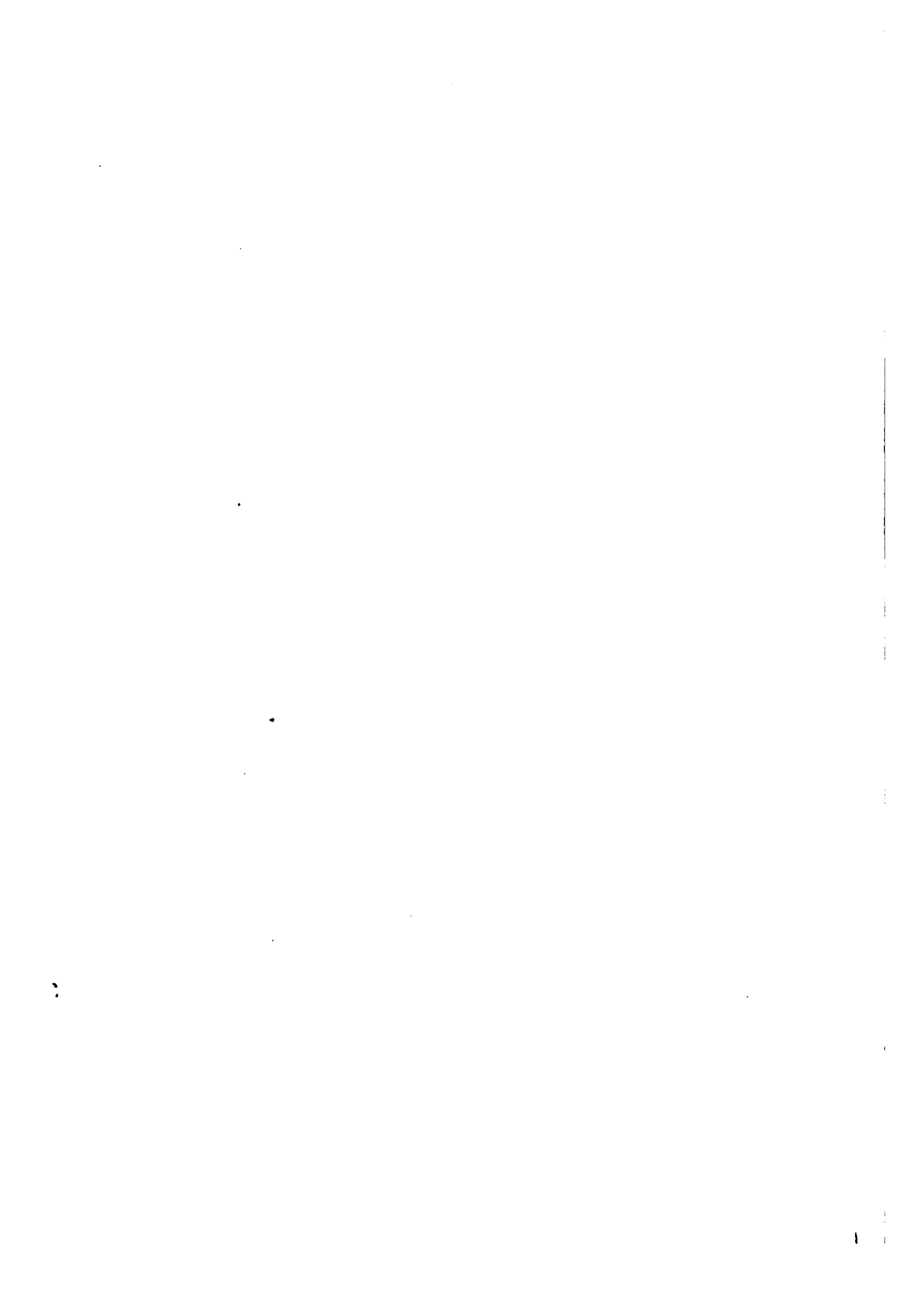
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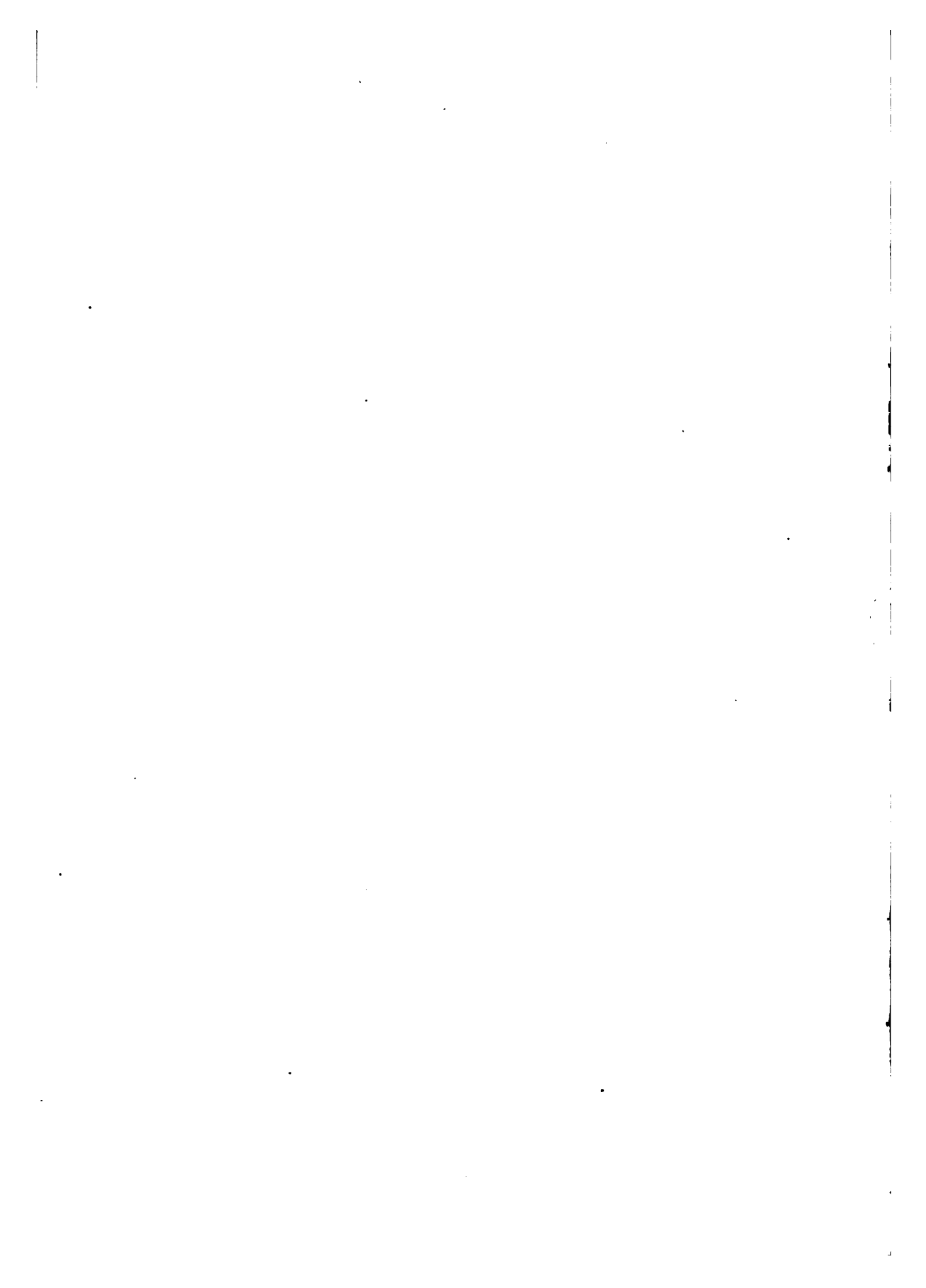
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY PUBLICATIONS
VOLUME II, PART I

NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES

BY

WILLIAM ALLAN REED

PART I. NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES
PART II. NABALOI OF BENGUET
PART III. BATAK OF PARAGUA



LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
THE ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY,
Manila, March 3, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit a study of the Negritos of Zambales Province made by Mr. William Allan Reed, of The Ethnological Survey, during the year 1903. It is transmitted with the recommendation that it be published as Part I of Volume II of a series of scientific studies to be published by this Survey.

Respectfully,



Chief of The Ethnological Survey.

HON. DEAN C. WORCESTER,
Secretary of the Interior, Manila, P. I.

LETTER OF SUBMITTAL

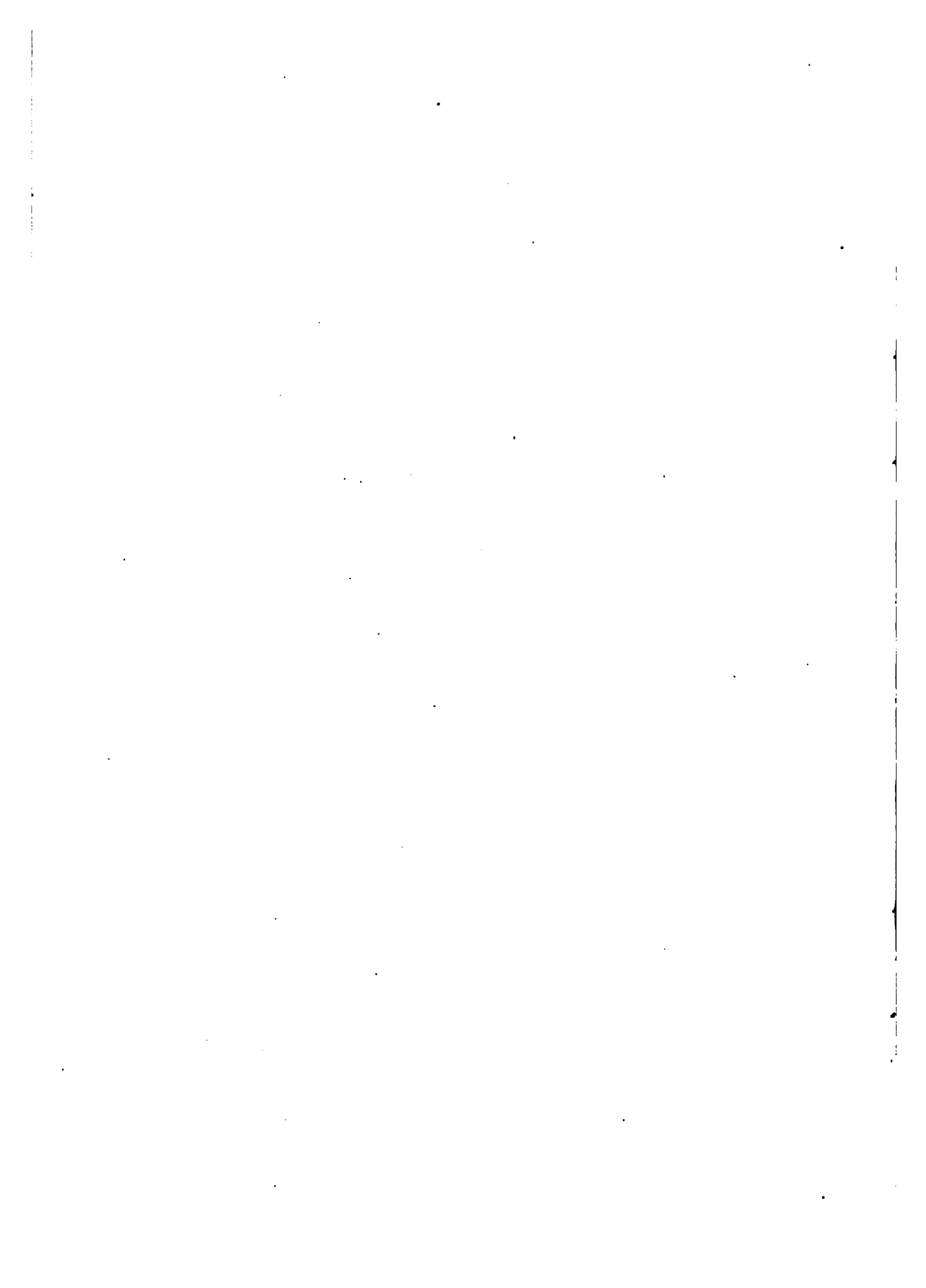
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
THE ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY,
Manila, March 1, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to submit herewith my report on the Negritos of Zambales.

Very respectfully,

WILLIAM ALLAN REED.

DR. ALBERT ERNEST JENKS,
Chief of The Ethnological Survey, Manila, P. I.



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P R E F A C E

This report is based on two months' field work pursued during May and June, 1903. Accompanied by Mr. J. Diamond, a photographer, the writer went in the latter part of April to Iba, Zambales, where a few days were spent in investigating the dialects of the Zambal people and in preparation for a trip to the interior.

After a journey of 25 miles inland a camp was established near Tagilitil. During the three weeks we were there the camp was visited by about 700 Negritos, who came in from outlying settlements, often far back in the mountains; but, owing to the fact that most of them would remain only as long as they were fed, extended investigations had to be conducted largely among the residents of Tagilitil and the neighboring rancheria of Villar.

From Tagilitil a trip was made southward behind the low mountain chain, which marks the limit of the plain, and through a hitherto unexplored territory, very broken and next to impassable except in the dry season. The trail, known only to Negritos and but little used, followed for the most part the beds of mountain streams. Four little rancherias were passed, the people of two of which had already visited us. A hard two-day trip brought us to Santa Fé, a barrio of San Marcelino. After a week with the Negritos at this place a trip was made toward the Pampanga boundary to Cabayan and Aglao, the former locality inhabited by several small groups of Negritos, the latter an isolated Ilokano barrio in and near which the Negritos live. A visit to the rancherias near Subig and Olongapo concluded the investigation. In all, more than a thousand Negritos were seen.

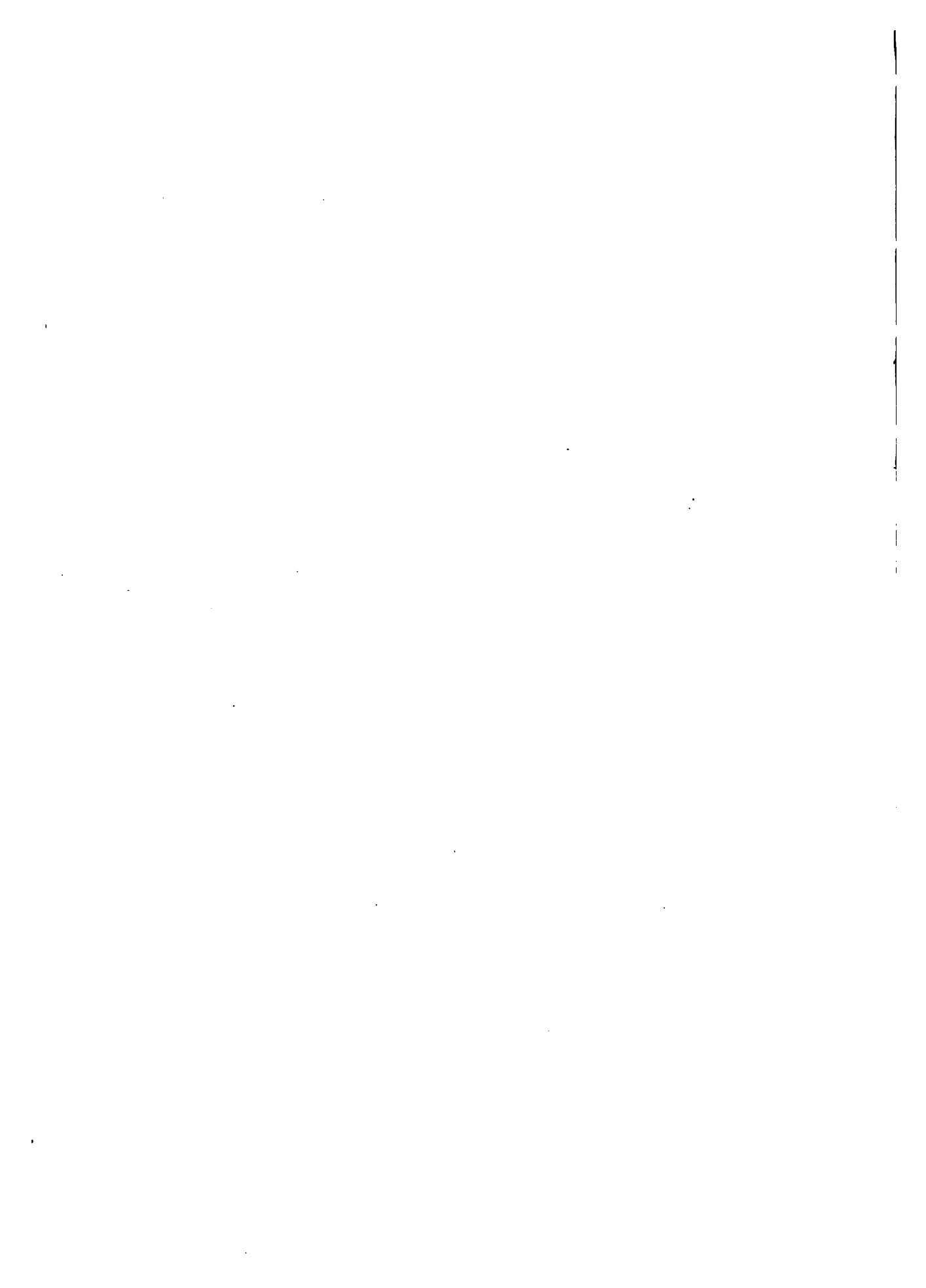
With only a short time at a place it is evident that an exhaustive study of the people of any particular locality could not be made. But the culture plane of the entire area is practically the same, and the facts as here presented should give a good idea of the customs and the general condition of the Negritos of Zambales Province. The short time at my disposal for the investigation is my only excuse for the meager treatment given some lines of study—as, for example, physical anthropology and language.

Inasmuch as nothing has yet been published by The Ethnological Survey on the Negritos of the Philippines, I have thought it not out of place to preface my report with an introductory chapter on their

distribution. The data contained therein have been compiled by me from information gathered by the Survey during the past two years and are sufficiently authentic for the present purpose.

The photographs of the Zambales Negritos were made by Mr. J. Diamond and those of the Bataan Negritos are from the collection of Hon. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior. Credit for each photograph is given on the plate as it appears.

NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES



CHAPTER I

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRITOS

Probably no group of primitive men has attracted more attention from the civilized world than the pygmy blacks. From the time of Homer and Aristotle the pygmies, although their existence was not absolutely known at that early period, have had their place in fable and legend, and as civilized man has become more and more acquainted with the unknown parts of the globe he has met again and again with the same strange type of the human species until he has been led to conclude that there is practically no part of the tropic zone where these little blacks have not lived at some time.

Mankind at large is interested in a race of dwarfs just as it would be in a race of giants, no matter what the color or social state; and scientists have long been concerned with trying to fix the position of the pygmies in the history of the human race. That they have played an important ethnologic rôle can not be doubted; and although to-day they are so scattered and so modified by surrounding people as largely to have disappeared as a pure type, yet they have everywhere left their imprint on the peoples who have absorbed them.

The Negritos of the Philippines constitute one branch of the Eastern division of the pygmy race as opposed to the African division, it being generally recognized that the blacks of short stature may be so grouped in two large and comprehensive divisions. Other well-known branches of the Eastern group are the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands and perhaps also the Papuans of New Guinea, very similar in many particulars to the Negritos of the Philippines, although authorities differ in grouping the Papuans with the Negritos. The Asiatic continent is also not without its representatives of the black dwarfs, having the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula. The presence of Negritos over so large an area has especially attracted the attention of anthropologists who have taken generally one or the other of two theories advanced to explain it: First, that the entire oceanic region is a partly submerged continent, once connected with the Asiatic mainland and over which this aboriginal race spread prior to the subsidence. The second theory is that the peopling of the several archipelagoes by the Negritos has been a gradual

spread from island to island. This latter theory, advanced by De Quatrefages,¹ is the generally accepted one, although it is somewhat difficult to believe that the ancestors of weak and scattered tribes such as to-day are found in the Philippines could ever have been the sea rovers that such a belief would imply. It is a well-known fact, however, that the Malays have spread in this manner, and, while it is hardly possible that the Negritos have ever been as bold seafarers as the Malays, yet where they have been left in undisputed possession of their shores they have remained reckless fishermen. The statement that they are now nearly always found in impenetrable mountain forests is not an argument against the migration-by-sea theory, because they have been surrounded by stronger races and have been compelled to flee to the forests or suffer extermination. The fact that they live farther inland than the stronger peoples is also evidence that they were the first inhabitants, for it is not natural to suppose that a weaker race could enter territory occupied by a stronger and gain a permanent foothold there.²

¹ Les Pygmées, 1887.

² However, when one attempts to fathom the mysteries surrounding the origin and migrations of the Negrito race he becomes hopelessly involved in a labyrinth of conjecture. Did the Negritos come from somewhere in Asia, some island like New Guinea, or is their original home now sunk beneath the sea? In the present state of our knowledge we can not hope to know. We find them in certain places to-day; we may believe that they once lived in certain other places, because the people now living there have characteristics peculiar to the little black men. But the Negrito has left behind no archaeological remains to guide the investigator, and he who attempts seriously to consider this question is laying up for himself a store of perplexing problems.

It may be of interest to present here the leading facts in connection with the distribution of the Negrito race and to summarize the views set forth by various leading anthropologists who have given the subject most study.

The deduction of the French scientists De Quatrefages and Hamy have been based almost entirely on craniological and osteological observations, and these authors argue a much wider distribution of the Negritos than other writers hold. In fact, according to these writers, traces of Negritos are found practically everywhere from India to Japan and New Guinea.

De Quatrefages in *Les Pygmées*, 1887, divides what he calls the "Eastern pygmies," as opposed to the African pygmies, into two divisions—the Negrito-Papuans and the Negritos proper. The former, he says, have New Guinea as a center of population and extend as far as Gilolo and the Moluccas. They are distinguished from the true Papuans who inhabit New Guinea and who are not classed by that writer as belonging to the Negrito race.

On the other hand, Wallace and Earl, supported by Meyer, all of whom have made some investigations in the region occupied by the Papuans, affirm that there is but a single race and that its identity with the Negritos is unmistakable. Meyer (*Distribution of Negritos*, 1898, p. 77) says that he and Von Maclay in 1873 saw a number of Papuans in Tidore. He had just come from the Philippines and Von Maclay had then come from Astrolabe Bay, in New Guinea. With these Papuans before them they discussed the question of the unity of the races, and Von Maclay could see no difference between these Papuans and those of Astrolabe Bay, while Meyer declared that the similarities between them and the Negritos of the Philippines was most striking. He says: "That was my standpoint then regarding the question, neither can I relinquish it at present."

Although they defended the unity of the Negritos and the Papuans they recognized that the Papuans were diversified and presented a variety of types, but Meyer regards this not as pointing to a crossing of different elements but as revealing simply the variability of the race. He continues (p. 80): "As the external *habitus* of the Negritos must be declared as almost identical with that of the Papuans, differences in form of the skull, the size of the body, and such like have the less weight in opposition to the great uniformity, as strong contrasts do not even come into play here, and if the Negritos do not show such great amount of variation in their physical characters as the Papuans—which, however,

The attention of the first Europeans who visited the Philippines was attracted by people with frizzly hair and with a skin darker in color than that of the ruling tribes. Pigafetta, to whom we are indebted for

is by no means sufficiently attested—it is no wonder in the case of a people which has been driven back and deprived of the opportunity of developing itself freely.”

Thus it remains for future investigations to establish beyond doubt the identity of the Papuans.

De Quatrefages divides all other Eastern pygmies into two divisions—insular and continental—and no authors find fault with this classification. Only in fixing the distribution of the Negritos do the authorities differ. The islands admitted by everybody to contain Negritos to-day may be eliminated from the discussion. These are the Philippines and the Andamans. In the latter the name “Mincopies” has been given to the little blacks, though how this name originated no one seems to know. It is certain that the people do not apply the name to themselves. Extensive study of the Andamans has been made by Flower and Man.

The Moluccas and lesser Sunda Islands just west of New Guinea were stated by De Quatrefages in 1887 (*Les Pygmées*) to be inhabited by Negritos, although three years previously, as recorded in *Hommes Fossiles*, 1884, he had doubted their existence there. He gave no authority and assigned no reason in his later work for this change of opinion. Meyer thinks this sufficient reason why one should not take De Quatrefages too seriously, and states that proofs of the existence of the Negritos in this locality are “so weak as not to be worth discussing them in detail.” From deductions based on the examination of a single skull Hamy inferred that pure Negritos were found on Timor, but the people of Timor were found by Meyer to be mixed Papuans and Malays, resembling the latter on the coasts and the former in the interior.

Likewise in Celebes, Borneo, and Java the French writers think that traces of an ancient Negrito population may be found, while Meyer holds that there is not sufficient evidence to warrant such an assumption. In Sumatra he admits that there is an element not Malayan, which on account of the nearness of Malacca may be *Negrítico*, but that fact is so far by no means proved.

In regard to Formosa Meyer quotes Scheteleg (*Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, n. s., 1869, vii): “I am convinced * * * that the Malay origin of most of the inhabitants of Formosa is incontestable.” But Hamy holds that the two skulls which Scheteleg brought were Negrito skulls, an assumption which Meyer (*Distribution of Negritos*, 1898, p. 52) disposes of as follows: “To conclude the occurrence of a race in a country from certain characters in two skulls, when this race has not been registered from that country, is, in the present embryonic state of craniology, an unwarrantable proceeding.”

In like manner Hamy has found that a certain Japanese skull in the Paris Museum resembles a Negrito skull, and he also finds traces of Negritos in Japan in the small stature, crisp hair, and darker color of the natives of the interior of the Island of Kiusiu. But Meyer holds that the facts brought forward up to the present time are far from being established, and objects to the acceptance of surmises and explanations more or less subjective as conclusive.

There is no doubt of the occurrence of Negritos in the peninsula of Malacca, where both pure and mixed people have been found. These are reported under a variety of names, of which Semang and Sakaf are perhaps the best known. Meyer (*Distribution of Negritos*, p. 62, footnote 2) says: “Stevens divides the Negritos of Malacca into two principal tribes—the Belendas, who with the Tumiors branched off from the Kenis tribe, and the Meniks, who consist of the Panggans of Kelantan and Petani and the Semangs of the west coast. Only the Panggans * * * and the Tumiors are pure Negritos. A name often recurring for the Belendas is Sakels (Malay: ‘bondman,’ ‘servant’), a designation given them in the first instance by the Malays but which they often also apply to themselves when addressing strangers.”

In their efforts to find Negrito traces in the Mao-tse, the aboriginal peoples of the Chinese Empire, De Lacouperie and De Quatrefages have, in the opinion of Meyer, even less to stand on than had Hamy in the case of Japan. In like manner it remains to be proved whether the Moï of Annam are related to Negritos, as the two French writers have stated, but whose opinions have been vigorously opposed by Meyer and others.

The question of the aboriginal inhabitants of India is one of even greater importance and presents greater difficulties. If it can be shown that this aboriginal population was Negrito, and if the relations which researches, especially in philology, have indicated between the peoples of India and those of Australia can be proved, a range of possibilities of startling importance, affecting the race question of Oceania in general and the origin and distribution of the Negritos in particular, will be opened up. In regard to the Indian question there is much diversity of opinion. De Quatrefages and Hamy, as usual, regard

an account of Magellan's voyage of discovery in 1521, mentions Negritos as living in the Island of Panglao, southwest of Bohol and east of Cebu.¹ If we are to believe later historians the shores of some of the islands fairly swarmed with Negritos when the Spaniards arrived. Meyer gives an interesting extract from an old account by Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World* (ed. Bethune, Hakluyt Soc., 1862, p. 234):²

In the same yeere 1543, and in moneth of August, the generall Rui Lopez sent one Bartholomew de la torre in a smal ship into new Spaine to acquaint the vizeroy don Antonio de Mendoça, with all things. They went to the Islands of Siria, Gaonata, Bisaia and many others, standing in 11 and 12 degrees towards the north, where Magellan had bene. * * * They found also an Archipelagus of Islands well inhabited with people, lying in 15 or 16 degrees: * * * There came vnto them certaine barkes or boates handsomely decked, wherein the master and principall men sate on high, and vnderneath were very blacke moores with frizled haire * * *: and being demanded where they had these blacke moores, they answered, that they had them from certaine islands standing fast by Sebut, where there were many of them. * * *

Zúñiga³ quotes the Franciscan history⁴ as follows:

The Negritos which our first conquerors found were, according to tradition, the first possessors of the islands of this Archipelago, and, having been conquered by the political nations of other kingdoms, they fled to the mountains and populated them, whence no one has been able to accomplish their extermination on account of the inaccessibility of the places where they live. In the past they were so proud of their primitive dominion that, although they did not have strength to resist the strangers in the open, in the woods and mountains and mouths of the rivers they were very powerful. They made sudden attacks on the pueblos and compelled their neighbors to pay tribute to them as to lords of the earth which they inhabited, and if these did not wish to pay them they killed right and left, collecting the tribute in heads. * * *

One of the islands of note in this Archipelago is that called Isla de Negros on account of the abundance of them [negroes]. In one point of this island—on the west side, called "Sojoton"—there is a great number of Negritos, and in the center of the island many more.

Chirino has the following to say of the Negritos of Panay at the end of the sixteenth century:⁵

Amongst these (Bisayas) there are also some negroes, the ancient inhabitants of the island of which they had taken possession before the Bisayas. They are

the Negritos as established in India, but Topinard and Virchow are opposed to this belief. Meyer holds that "this part of the Negrito question is in no way ripe for decision, and how much less the question as to a possible relationship of this hypothetical primitive population with the Negroes of Africa." (*Distribution of Negritos*, 1899, p. 70.)

In anthropology a statement may be regarded as proved for the time being so long as no opposition to it exists. With the exception of the Philippine and the Andaman Islands and the Malay Peninsula, as we have seen, the presence of traces of Negritos is an open question. The evidence at hand is incomplete and insufficient, and we must therefore be content to let future investigators work out these unsolved problems.

¹ English edition of Stanley, 1874, p. 106.

² *Distribution of Negritos*, 1899, p. 6, footnote.

³ Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*. Reprint by Retana, vol. 1, p. 422.

⁴ By this is meant Fr. San Antonio's *Chronicas de la Apostolica, Provincia de San Gregorio*, etc., 1738-1744.

⁵ *Relación de las Islas Filipinas*, 1604; 2d ed., 1890, p. 38.

somewhat less black and less ugly than those of Guinea, but are smaller and weaker, although as regards hair and beard they are similar. They are more barbarous and savage than the Bisayas and other Filipinos, for they do not, like them, have houses and fixed settlements. They neither sow nor reap, and they wander through the mountains with their women and children like animals, almost naked. * * * Their sole possessions are the bow and arrow.

Meyer,¹ who has given the subject much study and has conducted personal investigations on the field, states that "although at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards in the country, and probably long before, the Negritos were in process of being driven back by the Malays, yet it appears certain that their numbers were then larger, for they were feared by their neighbors, which is now only exceptionally the case."

Of the vast amount of material that has been written during the past century on the Negritos of the Philippines a considerable portion can not be taken authoritatively. Exceptions should be made of the writings of Meyer, Montano, Marche, and Blumentritt. A large part of the writings on the Philippine Negritos have to do with their distribution and numbers, since no one has made an extended study of them on the spot, except Meyer, whose work (consisting of twelve chapters and published in Volume IX of the Publications of the Royal Ethnographical Museum of Dresden, 1893) I regret not to have seen. Two chapters of this work on the distribution of the Negritos, republished in 1899, form the most recent and most nearly correct exposition of this subject. Meyer summarizes as follows:

It may be regarded as *proved with certainty* that Negritos are found in Luzon, Alabat, Corregidor, Panay, Tablas, Negros, Cebu, northeast Mindanao, and Palawan. It is questionable whether they occur in Guimaras, Mindoro, and the Calamianes.

This statement would be more nearly correct if Corregidor and Cebu were placed in the second list and Guimaras in the first. In this paper it is possible, by reason of special investigations, to give more reliable and detailed information on this subject than any yet published.

PRESENT DISTRIBUTION IN THE PHILIPPINES²

IN LUZON

This paper concerns itself chiefly with the Zambales Negritos whose distribution in Zambales and the contiguous Provinces of Bataan, Pampanga, and Tarlac is treated in detail in the following chapter. But Negritos of more or less pure blood, known variously as Aeta, Agta, Baluga, Dumagat, etc., are found in at least eleven other provinces of Luzon. Beginning with the southern end of the island there are a very few Negritos in the Province of Sorsogon. They are found generally living among the Bicol population and do not run wild in the woods; they have probably drifted down from the neighboring Province of

¹ Meyer, *Distribution of Negritos*, 1899, p. 4.

² See sketch map, Pl. I.

Albay. According to a report submitted by the governor of Sorsogon there are a few of these Negritos in Bacon and Bulusan, and four families containing Negrito blood are on the Island of Batang near Gabat.

Eight pueblos of Albay report altogether as many as 800 Negritos, known locally as "Agta." It is not likely any of them are of pure blood. In all except three of the towns they are servants in Bicol houses, but Malinao, Bacacay, and Tabaco report wandering groups in the mountains.

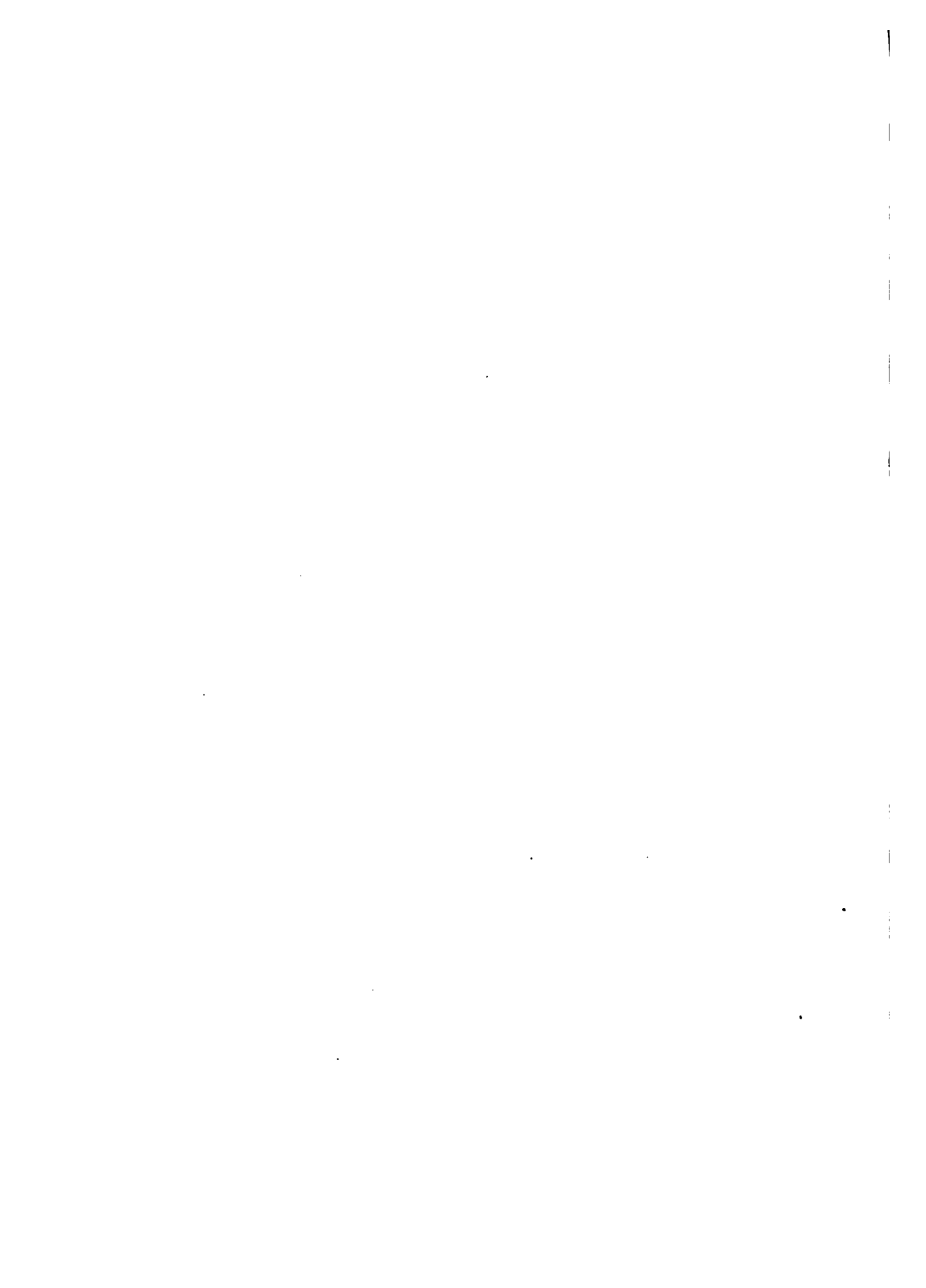
Meyer, who makes no mention of Negritos in Sorsogon or Albay, deems their existence in the Camarines sufficiently well authenticated, according to Blumentritt, who places Negrito half-breeds in the neighborhood of Lagonoy and around Mount Isarog. Information received by The Ethnological Survey places them in the mountains near Baao, Bulic, Iriga, Lagonoy, San José, Gao, and Tigaon, as well as scattered over the Cordillera de Isarog around Sagnay. All of these places are in the extreme southeastern part of the province contiguous to that part of Albay inhabited by Negritos. In neither province is the type pure. In the northern part of the province a few Negritos, called "Dumagat," are reported near Sipocot and Ragay. The towns of San Vicente, Labo, Paracale, Mambulao, and Capalonga along the north coast also have Negritos, generally called "Aeta." These are probably of purer blood than those around Mount Isarog. More than a hundred families of "Dumagat" are reported on the Islands of Caringo, Caluat, and Jomalic.

Farther to the north the Island of Alabat was first stated by Blumentritt to be inhabited by Dumagat, and in his map of 1882 he places them here but omits them in the map of 1890. Meyer deems their occurrence there to be beyond all doubt, as per Steen Bille's reports (*Reise der Galathea*, German ed., 1852). Reports of The Ethnological Survey place Aeta, Baluga, and Dumagat on Alabat—the former running wild in the mountains, the latter living in the barrios of Camagon and Silangan, respectively. On the mainland of the Province of Tayabas the Negritos are generally known as Aeta and may be regarded as being to a large degree of pure blood. They are scattered pretty well over the northern part of the province, but do not, so far as is known, extend down into the peninsula below Pitogo and Macalelon. Only at Mauban are they known as Baluga, which name seems to indicate a mixed breed. The Island of Polillo and the districts of Infanta and Principe, now part of the Province of Tayabas, have large numbers of Negritos probably more nearly approaching a pure physical type than those south of them. The Negritos of Binangonan and Baler have received attention in short papers from Blumentritt, but it yet remains for someone to make a study of them on the spot.

Meyer noted in 1872 that Negritos frequently came from the moun-



PLATE I. OUTLINE MAP OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRITOS



tains to Santa Cruz, Laguna Province. These probably came from across the Tayabas line, as none are reported in Laguna except from Santa Maria, in the extreme northern part. Even these are probably very near the boundary line into Rizal Province; perhaps they are over the line. Tanay, Rizal Province, on the shore of Laguna de Bay, reports some 300 Negritos as living in the mountains north of that town. From descriptions given by natives of Tanay they do not appear to be pure types. There is also a small group near Montalbán, in Rizal Province, not more than 20 miles from Manila.

Going northward into Bulacan we are in possession of more definite information regarding the whereabouts of these forest dwellers. Zuñiga in 1803 spoke of the Negritos of Angat—in those days head-hunters who were accustomed to send messages by means of knotted grass stalks.¹

This region, the upper reaches of the Angat River, was visited by Mr. E. J. Simons on a collecting trip for The Ethnological Survey in February, 1903. Mr. Simons saw twenty-two little rancherias of the Dumagat, having a total population of 176 people. Some of them had striking Negroid characteristics, but nearly all bore evidence of a mixture of blood. In some cases full-blooded Filipinos have married into the tribe and adopted Negrito customs entirely. Their social state is about the same as that of the Negritos of Zambales, though some of their habits—for instance, betel chewing—approach more nearly those of lower-class Filipinos. A short vocabulary of their dialect is given in Appendix B.

Negritos are also found in northern Bulacan and throughout the continuous mountain region extending through Nueva Ecija into Isabela and the old Province of Principe. They are reported from Peñaranda, Bongabong, and Pantabangan, in Nueva Ecija, to the number of 500. This region is yet to be fully explored; the same may be said also of that vast range of mountains, the Sierra Madre, of Isabela and Cagayan. In the Province of Isabela Negritos are reported from all the towns, especially Palanan, on the coast, and Carig, Echague, Angadanan, Cauayan, and Cabagan Nuevo, on the upper reaches of the Rio Grande de Cagayan, but as there is a vast unknown country between, future exploration will have to determine the numerical importance of the Negritos. It has been thought heretofore that this region contained a large number of people of pure blood. This was the opinion set forth by Blumentritt. He says:

This coast is the only spot in the Philippines in which the original masters of the Archipelago, the Negritos, hold unrestricted possession of their native land. The eastern side of the Cordillera which slopes toward this coast is also their undisputed possession. However, the western slopes they have been compelled to share with branches of Malay descendants. Here they retain the greatest purity of original physique and character.

¹ Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas. Ed. Retana, 1893, i, p. 421.

These statements stand much in need of verification. Inquiries pursued by The Ethnological Survey do not bear them out—in fact, point to an opposite belief.

There is a small body of what may be pure types near the boundary between Isabela and Cagayan, west of the Cagayan River, but the coast region, so far as is known, does not hold any Negritos.

As many as sixteen towns of Cagayan report Negritos to the total number of about 2,500. They are known commonly as "Atta," but in the pueblo of Baggao there are three groups known locally as "Atta," "Dian-go," and "Paranan." They have been described by natives of Baggao as being very similar to the ordinary Filipinos in physical characteristics except that they are darker in color and have bushy hair. Their only weapons are the bow and arrow. Their social status is in every way like that of the Negritos as distinguished from the industrious mountain Malayans of northern Luzon. Yet future investigations may not associate these robust and warlike tribes with the weak, shirking Negritos. Negritos of pure type have not so far been reported from Cagayan.

At only two places in the western half of northern Luzon have Negritos been observed. There is a small group near Piddig, Ilokos Norte, and a wandering band of about thirty-five in the mountains between Villavieja, Abra Province, and Santa Maria, Ilokos Sur Province, from both of which towns they have been reported. It is but a question of time until no trace of them will be left in this region so thickly populated with stronger mountain peoples.

IN THE SOUTHERN ISLANDS

Although Negritos were reported by the early Spanish writers to be especially numerous in some of the southern islands, probably more of them are found on Luzon than on all the other islands in the Archipelago. Besides Luzon, the only large islands inhabited by them at present are Panay, Negros, Mindanao, and Paragua, but some of the smaller islands, as Tablas and Guimaras, have them.

Negritos of pure blood have not been reported from Mindoro, but only the half-breed Manguian, who belong in a group to themselves. It is questionable whether the unknown interior will produce pure types, though it is frequently reported that there are Negritos in the interior.

There is a rather large colony of Negritos on the west coast of Tablas near Odiungan, and also a few on the Isla de Carabao immediately south of Tablas. These have probably passed up from Panay. All the provinces of the latter island report Negritos, locally known as "Ati" and "Agta." They seem to be scattered pretty well over the interior of Panay, being especially numerous in the mountainous region where the Provinces of Antique and Iloilo join. In Antique there

are about 1,000 Negritos living in groups of several families each. They are reported from nearly all the towns, being more numerous along the Dalanas and Sibalon Rivers. The number of pure types is said, however, to be rapidly decreasing on account of intermarriage with the Bukidnon or mountain Visayan. They are of very small stature, with kinky hair. They lead the same nomadic life as the Negritos in other parts, except that they depend more on the products of the forest for subsistence and rarely clear and cultivate "ca-ing-in."¹ They seem to have developed more of religious superstitions, and believe that both evil spirits and protecting spirits inhabit the forests and plains. However, these beliefs may have been borrowed from the Bukidnon, with whom they come much in contact. From a mixing of the Ati and Bukidnon are sprung the Calibugan, who partake more of the characteristics of their Visayan ancestors than those of the Ati, and generally abandon the nomadic life and live in clearings in the forest.

About ten years ago there was a group of about 200 Ati at a place called Labangan, on the Dalanas River, governed by one Capitán Andres. They made clearings and carried people across the river for a small remuneration. Many of them are said to have emigrated to Negros to escape public work to which the local authorities subjected them without compensation.

There is a small, wandering group of Negritos on Guimaras, probably emigrants from Panay. They have been reported from both Nagaba and Nueva Valencia, pueblos of that island.

Investigation does not bear out the statements of the historian previously quoted in regard to the early populations of Negros. At least it seems that if the southwestern part of that island known as Sojoton had been so thickly populated with Negritos early in the eighteenth century more traces of them would remain to-day. But they seem to have left no marks on the Malayan population. While in the Isio region in August, 1903, I made special investigation and inquiry into this subject and could find no trace of Negritos. Expeditions of the Constabulary into the interior have never met with the little blacks except a single colony near the boundary line between the two provinces just north of Tolon. A few Negritos have also been seen scattered in the interior of southern Oriental Negros back from Nueva Valencia, Ayuquitán, and Bais. From there no trace of them exists until the rugged mountains north of the volcano of Canlaon are reached, in the almost impenetrable recesses of which there are estimated to be a thousand or more. They are especially numerous back of Escalante and formerly made frequent visits to that pueblo, but recent military operations in the region have made them timid, as scouting parties have fired on and killed several of them. The sight of a white man or native of the

¹ Ca-ing-in is a Malayan word for cultivated clearing.

plain is a signal for an immediate discharge of arrows. Also in the mountains behind Sagay, Cadiz, and Manapla live a few scattered families. I was fortunate in securing photographs of a Negrito captured by the Constabulary near Cadiz. (See Pl. XXVI.) He was much taller than the Negritos of Zambales, but with very little muscular development. He spoke Visayan, and said he knew no other dialect. While in Negros I also secured photographs of a small colony of Ati, who emigrated from Panay about twenty years ago and now live on a mountain hacienda on the slope of Mount Canlaon.

So far there is no evidence that Negritos exist on Cebu, Bohol, Samar, and Leyte. In Mindanao they are found only in the extreme northern part of Surigao, not having been reported below Tago. They are called "Mamanua," and are not very numerous.

We have detailed accounts of both the Tagbanua and Batak of Paragua, by Señor Manuel Venturello, a native of Puerto Princesa, who has lived among them twenty years. These interesting articles, translated by Capt. E. A. Helmick, Tenth United States Infantry, and published in pamphlet form by the Division of Military Information, Manila, are especially full as to customs, religion, language, etc., of the Tagbanua who inhabit the central part of Paragua from the Bay of Ulugan south to Apurahuan. However, the Tagbanua, although perhaps having a slight amount of Negrito blood, can not be classed with the Negritos. But, in my opinion, the Batak who inhabit the territory from the Bay of Ulugan north to Caruray and Barbacan may be so classed, although they are by no means of pure blood. They are described as being generally of small stature but well developed and muscular. They have very curly but not kinky hair, except in rare cases. Their weapons are the bow and arrow and the blowgun or sumpitan, here called "sum-pit." Their only clothing is a breechcloth and a short skirt of flayed bark. A notable feature of their customs is that both polygyny and polyandry are permitted, this being the only instance of the latter practice so far observed among the tribes of the Philippines. The Batak are not very numerous; their villages have been decimated by ravages of smallpox during the past five years.

CONCLUSION

This rapid survey leaves much to be desired, but it contains about all that is definitely known to-day concerning the whereabouts of the Negritos in the Philippines. No attempt has been made to state numbers. The Philippine census will probably have more exact information in this particular, but it must be borne in mind that even the figures given by the census can be no more than estimates in most instances. The habits of the Negritos do not lend themselves to modern methods of census taking.

After all, Blumentritt's opinion of several years ago is not far from right. Including all mixed breeds having a preponderance of Negrito blood, it is safe to say that the Negrito population of the Philippines probably will not exceed 25,000. Of these the group largest in numbers and probably purest in type is that in the Zambales mountain range, western Luzon. However, while individuals may retain in some cases purity of blood, nowhere are whole groups free from mixture with the Malayan. The Negritos of Panay, Negros, and Mindanao are also to be regarded as pure to a large extent. On the east side of Luzon and in the Island of Paragua, as we have just seen, there is marked evidence of mixture.

The social state of the Negritos is everywhere practically the same. They maintain their half-starved lives by the fruits of the chase and forest products, and at best cultivate only small patches of maize and other vegetables. Only occasionally do they live in settled, self-supporting communities, but wander for the most part in scattered families from one place to another.

CHAPTER II

THE PROVINCE OF ZAMBALES

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

This little-known and comparatively unimportant province stretches along the western coast of Luzon for more than 120 miles. Its average width does not exceed 25 miles and is so out of proportion to its length that it merits the title which it bears of the "shoestring province."¹ The Zambales range of mountains, of which the southern half is known as the Cordillera de Cabusilan and which is second in importance to the Caraballos system of northern Luzon, forms the entire eastern boundary of Zambales and separates it from the Provinces of Pangasinan, Tarlac, and Pampanga. A number of peaks rise along this chain, of which Mount Pinatubo, 6,040 feet in height, is the highest. All of the rivers of Zambales rise on the western slope of these mountains and carry turbulent floods through the narrow plains. Still unbridged, they are an important factor in preventing communication and traffic between towns, and hence in retarding the development of the province. Another important factor in this connection is the lack of safe anchorages. The Zambales coast is a stormy one, and vessels frequently come to grief on its reefs. At only one point, Subig Bay, can larger vessels find anchorage safe from the typhoons which sweep the coast. The soil of the well-watered plain is fertile and seems adapted to the cultivation of nearly all the products of the Archipelago. The forests are especially valuable, and besides fine timbers for constructional purposes they supply large quantities of pitch, resin, bejuco, and beeswax. There are no industries worth mentioning, there being only primitive agriculture and stock raising.

The following opinions of Zambales set forth by a Spanish writer in 1880 still hold good:²

There are more populous and more civilized provinces whose commercial and agricultural progress has been more pronounced, but nowhere is the air more pure

¹ The province has recently been divided by act of the Philippine Commission, the northern part above Santa Cruz being joined to Pangasinan.

² Francisco Cañamaque, *Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid*, vol ix, 1880.

and transparent, the vegetation more luxuriant, the climate more agreeable, the coasts more sunny, and the inhabitants more simple and pacific.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

According to Buzeta, another Spanish historian, it was Juan de Salcedo who discovered Zambales.¹

This intrepid soldier [he says], after having conquered Manila and the surrounding provinces, resolved to explore the northern part of Luzon. He organized at his own expense an expedition, and General Legaspi gave him forty-five soldiers, with whom he left Manila May 20, 1572. After a journey of three days he arrived at Bolinao, where he found a Chinese vessel whose crew had made captives of a chief and several other natives. Salcedo retook these captives from the Chinese and gave them their liberty. The Indians, who were not accustomed to such generosity, were so touched by this act that they became voluntary vassals of the Spaniards.

It seems that nothing further was done toward settling or evangelizing the region for twelve years, although the chronicler goes on to say that three years after the discovery of Bolinao a sergeant of Salcedo's traversed the Bolinao region, receiving everywhere the homage of the natives, and a Franciscan missionary, Sebastian Baeza, preached the gospel there. But in 1584 the Augustinians established themselves at the extreme ends of the mountain range, Bolinao and Mariveles. One of them, the friar Esteban Martin, was the first to learn the Zambal dialect. The Augustinians were succeeded by the Recollets, who, during the period from 1607 to 1680, founded missions at Agno, Balinaguin, Bolinao, Cabangan, Iba, Masinloc, and Santa Cruz. Then in 1680, more than a hundred years after Salcedo landed at Bolinao, the Dominicans undertook the active evangelization of the district.

Let us now examine [continues the historian²] the state of these savage Indians whom the zealous Spanish missionaries sought to convert. Father Salazar, after having described the topography of this mountainous province, sought to give an idea of the political and social state of the pagans who formed the larger part of the aboriginal population: "The principal cause," he said, "of the barbarity of these Indians, and that which prevents their ever being entirely and pacifically converted, is that the distances are so great and communication so difficult that the alcaldes can not control them and the missionaries find it impossible to exercise any influence over them."

Each village was composed of ten, twenty, or thirty families, united nearly always by ties of kinship. It was difficult to bring these villages together because they carried on wars continually, and they lived in such a state of discord that it was impossible to govern them; moreover they were so barbarous and fierce that they recognized only superior power. They governed through fear. He who wished to be most respected sought to inspire fear by striking off as many heads as possible. The one who committed the most assassinations was thus assured of the subordination of all. They made such a glory of it that they were accustomed to wear certain ornaments in order to show to the eyes

¹ Diccionario Geográfico, etc., de las Islas Filipinas, vol. II, 1850. ² Cañamaque.

of all the murders they had committed. When a person lost a relative either by a violent or a natural death he covered his head with a strip of black cloth as a sign of mourning and could take it off only after having committed a murder, a thing which they were always eager to do in order to get rid of the sadness of mourning, because so long as they wore the badge they could not sing or dance or take part in any festivity. One understands then that deaths became very frequent in a country where all deaths were necessarily followed by one or more murders. It is true that he who committed a murder sought to atone for it by paying to the relatives of the deceased a certain quantity of gold or silver or by giving them a slave or a Negrito who might be murdered in his place.

The Zambal had nevertheless more religion than the inhabitants of other provinces. There was among them a high priest, called "Bayoc," who by certain rites consecrated the other priests. He celebrated this ceremony in the midst of orgies and the most frightful revels. He next indicated to the new priest the idol or cult to which he should specially devote himself and conferred on him privileges proportionate to the rank of that divinity, for they recognized among their gods a hierarchy, which established also that of their curates. They gave to their principal idol the name of "Malyari"—that is, the powerful. The Bayoc alone could offer sacrifice to him. There was another idol, Acasi, whose power almost equaled that of the first. In fact, they sang in religious ceremonies that "although Malyari was powerful, Acasi had preëminence." In an inferior order they worshiped also Manlobog or Mangalagan, whom they recognized as having power of appeasing irritated spirits. They rendered equal worship to five less important idols who represented the divinities of the fields, prosperity to their herds and harvests. They also believed that Anitong sent them rains and favorable winds; Damalag preserved the sown fields from hurricanes; Dumanga made the grain grow abundantly; and finally Calascas ripened it, leaving to Calosocos only the duty of harvesting the crops. They also had a kind of baptism administered by the Bayoc with pure blood of the pig, but this ceremony, very long and especially very expensive, was seldom celebrated in grand style. The sacrifice which the same priest offered to the idol Malyari consisted of ridiculous ceremonies accompanied by savage cries and yells and was terminated by repugnant debaucheries.

Of course it is impossible to tell how much of this is the product of the writer's imagination, or at least of the imagination of those earlier chroniclers from whom he got his information, but it can very well be believed that the natives had a religion of their own and that the work of the missionaries was exceedingly difficult. It was necessary to get them into villages, to show them how to prepare and till the soil and harvest the crops. And the writer concludes that "little by little the apathetic and indolent natives began to recognize the advantages of social life constituted under the shield of authority and law, and the deplorable effects of savage life, offering no guarantee of individual or collective security."

A fortress had been built at Paynaven, in what is now the Province of Pangasinan, from which the work of the missionaries spread southward, so that the northern towns were all organized before those in the south. It is not likely that this had anything to do with causing

the Negritos to leave the northern part of the province, if indeed they ever occupied it, but it is true that to-day they inhabit only the mountainous region south of a line drawn through the middle of the province from east to west.

The friar Martinez Zúñiga, speaking of the fortress at Paynaven, said that in that day, the beginning of the last century, there was little need of it as a protection against the "infidel Indians" and blacks who were very few in number, and against whom a stockade of bamboo was sufficient.

It might serve against the Moros [he continues], but happily the Zambales coast is but little exposed to the attacks of these pirates, who always seek easy anchorage. The pirates are, however, a constant menace and source of danger to the Zambal, who try to transport on rafts the precious woods of their mountains and to carry on commerce with Manila in their little boats. The Zambal are exposed to attack from the Moros in rounding the point at the entrance of Manila Bay, from which it results that the province is poor and has little commerce.¹

Everything in the history of the Zambal people and their present comparative unimportance goes to show that they were the most indolent and backward of the Malayan peoples. While they have never given the governing powers much trouble, yet they have not kept pace with the agricultural and commercial progress of the other people, and their territory has been so steadily encroached on from all sides by their more aggressive neighbors that their separate identity is seriously threatened. The rich valleys of Zambales have long attracted Ilokano immigrants, who have founded several important towns. The Zambal themselves, owing to lack of communication between their towns, have developed three separate dialects, none of which has ever been deemed worthy of study and publication, as have the other native dialects of the Philippines. A glance at the list of towns of Zambales with the prevailing dialect spoken in each, and in case of nearly equal division also the second most important dialect, will show to what extent Zambal as a distinct dialect is gradually disappearing:

¹ Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas*, 1803.

Dialects in Zambales Province

Town	Primary dialect	Secondary dialect
Olongapo	Tagalog	
Subig	Tagalog	
Castillejos	Tagalog	Ilokano
San Marcelino	Ilokano	Tagalog
San Antonio	Ilokano	
San Narciso	Ilokano	
San Felipe	Ilokano	
Cabangan	Zambal	
Botolan	Zambal	
Iba	Zambal	
Palaulg	Zambal	
Masinloc	Zambal	
Candelaria	Zambal	
Santa Cruz	Zambal	
Infanta	Zambal	
Dasol	Pangasinan	Zambal
Agno	Ilokano	Pangasinan
Barri	Zambal	
San Isidro	Ilokano	
Balincaguin	Pangasinan	
Aios	Ilokano	Pangasinan
Alumnos	Pangasinan	Ilokano
Zaragoza	Zambal	
Bolinao	Zambal	
Anda	Zambal	

Of twenty-five towns Zambal is the prevailing dialect of less than half. As will be seen, the Ilokano have been the most aggressive immigrants. As a prominent Ilokano in the town of San Marcelino expressed it, when they first came they worked for the Zambals, who held all the good land. But the Zambal landowners, perhaps wanting money for a cockfight, would sell a small piece of land to some Ilokano who had saved a little money, and when he ran out of money he would sell a little more land, until finally the Ilokano owned it all.

This somewhat lengthy and seemingly irrelevant sketch of the early history of Zambales and of the character of its inhabitants to-day is given to show the former state of savagery and the apathetic nature of the people who, in the days before the arrival of the Europeans, were in such close contact with the Negritos as to impose on them their language, and they have done it so thoroughly that no trace of an original Negrito dialect remains. Relations such as to-day exist between the people of the plains and those of the mountains would not change a dialect in a thousand years. Another evidence of a former close contact may be found in the fact that the Negritos of southern Zambales who have never personally come in contact with the Zambal but only with the Tagalog also speak Zambal with some slight variations,

showing, too, that the movement of the Negritos has been southward away from the Zambal territory.

Close study and special investigation into the linguistics of this region, carried also into Bataan and across the mountain into Pampanga and Tarlac, may throw more light on this very interesting and important subject and may reveal traces of an original Negrito dialect. Prominent natives of Zambales, whom I have questioned, and who are familiar with the subject, affirm that the Negritos know only the dialect of the Zambal. Indeed those are not lacking who believe in a blood relationship between the Negritos and the Zambal, but this belief can not be taken seriously.¹

Very little mention is made by the early writers of the Negritos. In fact they knew nothing of them except that they were small blacks who roamed in the mountains, living on roots and game which they killed with the bow and arrow. They were reported to be fierce little savages from whom no danger could come, since they did not leave their mountain fastnesses, but whose territory none dared enter.

¹ This was evidently the belief of some of the old voyagers. Navarette, whose account of his travels in 1647 is published in Churchill's Collection of Voyages, 1704, said that the people called "Zambales" were great archers and had no other weapons than the bow and arrow. Dr. John Frances Gemelli Careri, who made a voyage around the world, 1693-1697, says in his report (Churchill's Voyages, vol. iv): "This mixing [that is, of Negritos] with the Wild Indians produced the Tribe of *Manghian* who are Blacks dwelling in the Isles of Mindoro and Mundos [probably Panay], and who peopled the Islands *de los Negros*, or of Blacks. Some of them have harsh frised hair like the *African* and *Angola* blacks. * * *

"The *Sambali*, contrary to the others, tho' Wild have long Hair, like the other Conquer'd *Indians*. The Wives, of these Savages are deliver'd in the Woods, like She Goats, and immediately wash themselves and the Infants in the Rivers, or other cold Water; which would be immediate Death to *Europeans*. These Blacks when pursu'd by the *Spaniards*, with the sound of little Sticks, give notice to the rest, that are dispers'd about the Woods, to save themselves by Flight. Their Weapons are Bows and Arrows, a short Spear, and a short Weapon, or Knife at their Girdle. They Poison their Arrows, which are sometimes headed with Iron, or a sharp Stone, and they bore the Point, that it may break in their Enemies Body, and so be unfit to be shot back. For their defense, they use a Wooden Buckler, four Spans long, and two in breadth, which always hangs at their Arm.

"Tho' I had much discourse about it, with the Fathers of the Society, and other Missioners, who converse with these Blacks, *Manghtans*, *Mandi* and *Sambali*, I could never learn any thing of their Religion; but on the contrary, all unanimously agree they have none, but live like Beasts, and the most that has been seen among the Blacks on the Mountains, has been a round Stone, to which they pay'd a Veneration, or a Trunk of a Tree, or Beasts, or other things they find about, and this only out of fear. True it is, that by means of the Heathen *Chineses* who deal with them in the Mountains, some deformed Statues have been found in their Huts. The other three beforemention'd Nations, seem'd inclin'd to observing of Auguries and *Mahometan* Superstitions, by reason of their Commerce, with the *Malayes* and *Ternates*. The most reciev'd Opinion is, that these Blacks were the first Inhabitants of the Islands; and that being Cowards, the Sea Coasts were easily taken from them by People resorting from *Sumatra*, *Borneo*, *Macassar* and other Places; and therefore they retir'd to the Mountains. In short, in all the Islands where these Blacks, and other Savage Men are, the *Spaniards* Possess not much beyond the Sea Coasts; and not that in all Parts, especially from *Maribales*, to Cape *Bolinao* in the Island of *Manila*, where for 50 Leagues along the Shoar, there is no Landing, for fear of the Blacks, who are most inveterate Enemies to the *Europeans*. Thus all the in-land Parts being possess'd by these Brutes, against whom no Army could prevail in the thick Woods, the King of *Spain* has scarce one in ten of the Inhabitants of the Island, that owns him, as the *Spaniards* often told me."

HABITAT OF THE NEGRITOS

As has been stated, the present range of the Negritos of this territory embraces the mountainous portion of the lower half of Zambales and the contiguous Provinces of Tarlac and Pampanga, extending southward even to the very extremity of the peninsula of Bataan.

This region, although exceedingly broken and rough, has not the high-ridged, deep-canyoned aspect of the Cordillera Central of northern Luzon. It consists for the most part of rolling tablelands, broken by low, forest-covered ridges and dotted here and there by a few gigantic peaks. The largest and highest of these, Mount Pinatubo, situated due east from the town of Cabangan, holds on its broad slopes the largest part of the Negritos of Zambales. Many tiny streams have their sources in this mountain and rush down the slopes, growing in volume and furnishing water supply to the Negrito villages situated along their banks. Some of the larger of these streams have made deep cuts on the lower reaches of the mountain slopes, but they are generally too small to have great powers of erosion. The unwooded portions of the tablelands are covered with cogon and similar wild grasses.

Here is enough fertile land to support thousands of people. The Negritos occupy practically none of it. Their villages and mountain farms are very scattered. The villages are built for the most part on the table-land above some stream, and the little clearings are found on the slope of the ridge at the base of which the stream runs. No use whatever is made of the grass-covered table-land, save that it offers a high and dry site for a rancheria, free from fevers.

Practically all of the Negrito rancherias are within the jurisdiction of the two towns of Botolan and San Marcelino. Following the winding course of the Bucao River, 15 miles southeast from Botolan, one comes to the barrio of San Fernando de Riviera, as it is on the maps, or Pombato, as the natives call it. This is a small Filipino village, the farthest out, a half-way place between the people of the plains and those of the uplands. Here a ravine is crossed, a hill climbed, and the traveler stands on a plateau not more than half a mile wide but winding for miles toward the big peak Pinatubo and almost imperceptibly increasing in elevation. Low, barren ridges flank it on either side, at the base of each of which flows a good-sized stream. Seven miles of beaten winding path through the cogon grass bring the traveler to the first Negrito rancheria, Tagiltil, one year old, lying sun baked on a southern slope of the plateau. Here the plateau widens out, is crossed and cut up by streams and hills, and the forests gradually become thicker. In the wide reach of territory of which this narrow plateau is the western apex, including Mount Pinatubo and reaching to the Tarlac and Pampanga boundaries, there are situated no less than thirty rancherias of Negritos, having an average population of 40 persons or a



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Photo by Worcester.

PLATE III. NEGRO WOMEN OF BATAAN ON A ROCK IN A STREAM.

1950

1951

1952

1953

1954

1955

1956

1957

1958

1959

1960

1961

1962

1963





Photo by Worcester.

PLATE III. NEGRITO WOMEN OF BATAAN ON A ROCK IN A STREAM.

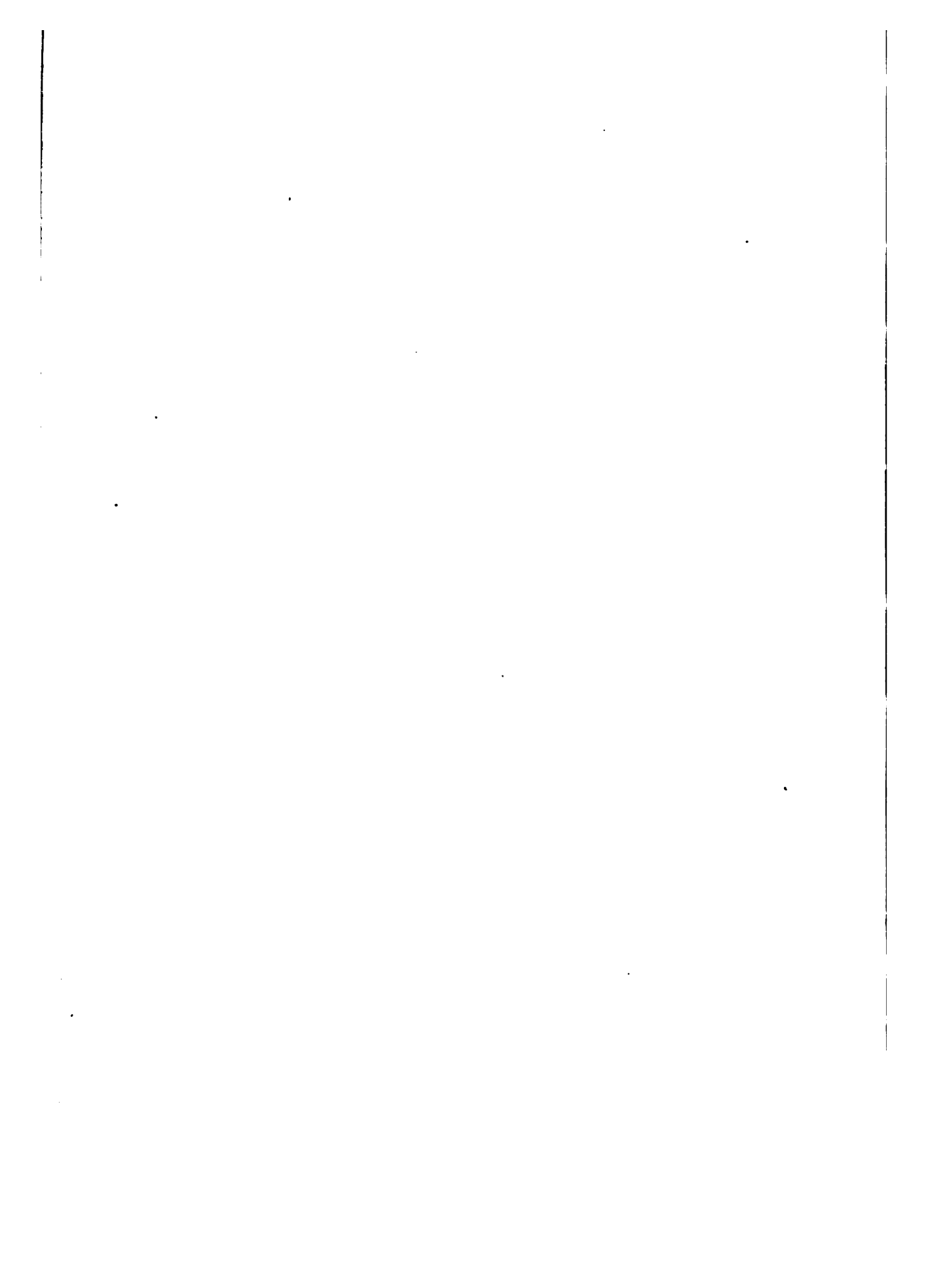




Photo by Diamond.

PLATE V. NEGRITO MAN FROM AGLAO, ZAMBALES.

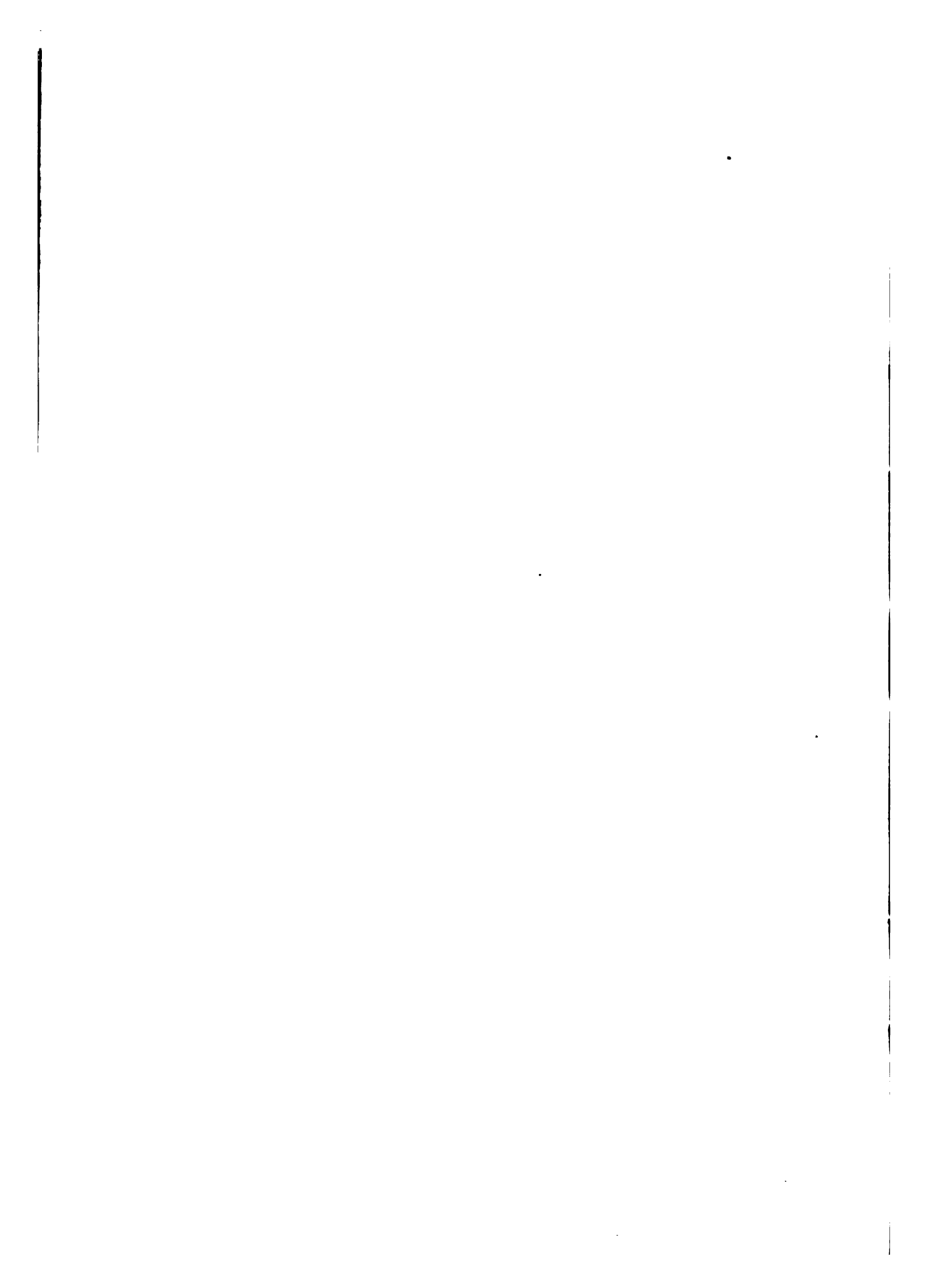
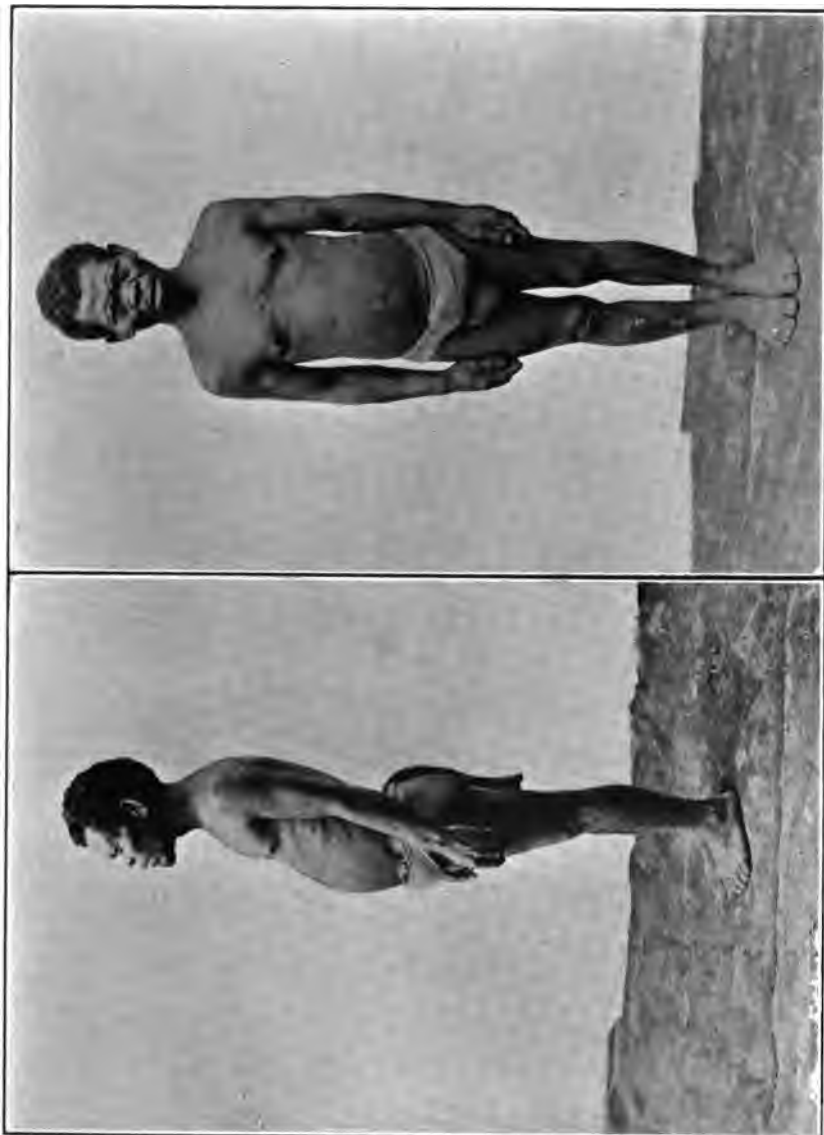




Photo by Diamond.

PLATE VII. VIEW NEAR SANTA FÉ, ZAMBALES.





Photos by Diamond.

PLATE IX. NEGRITO MAN OF ZAMBALES.

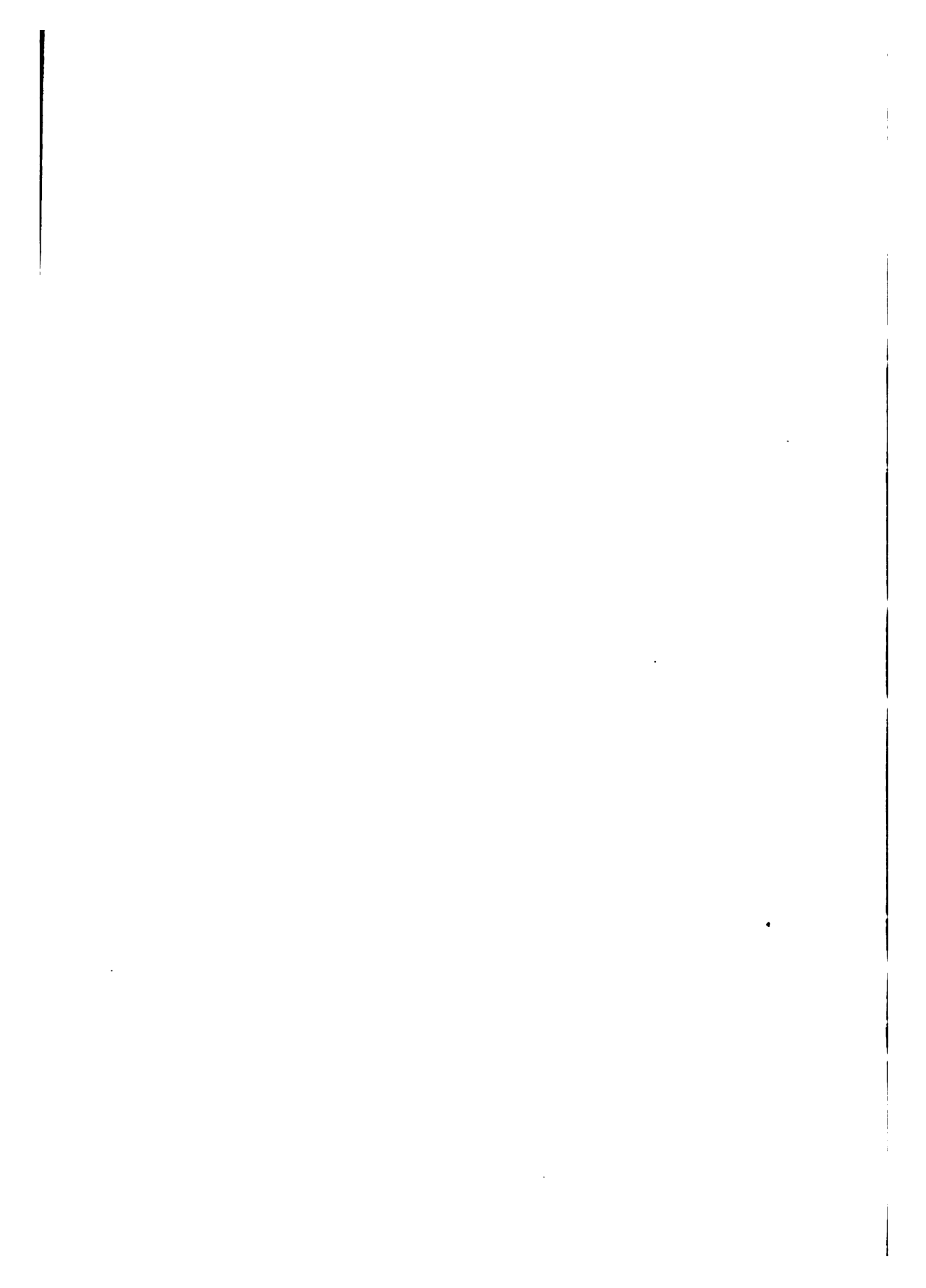




Photo by Diamond.

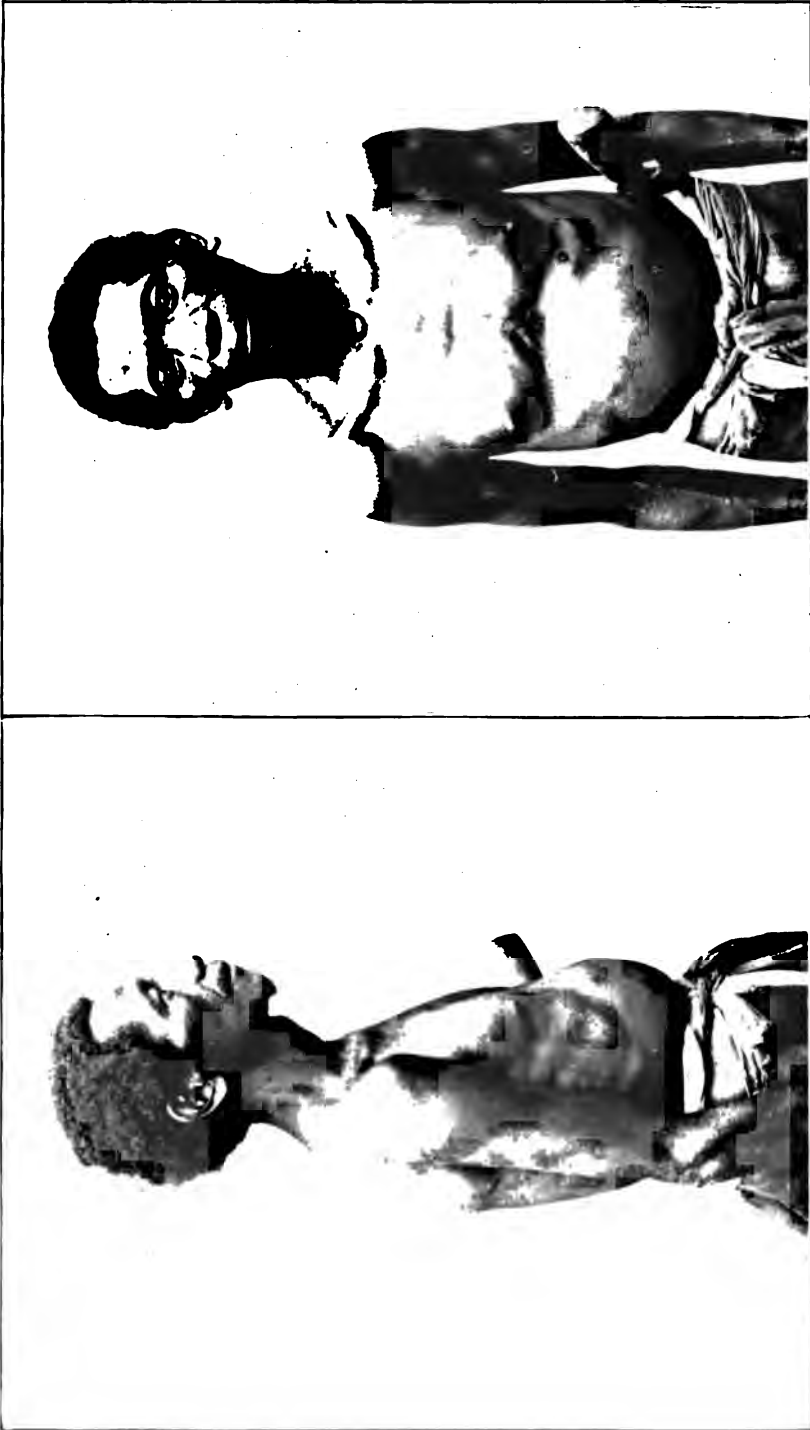
PLATE XI. GROUP OF NEGritos AND CONSTABULARY AT CABAYAN, ZAMBALES.

Vertical line on the left side of the page.

Small black dot in the upper right quadrant.

Vertical line on the right side of the page.

Small black dot in the lower left quadrant.



Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XII. OLD MAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE NEGRITO).

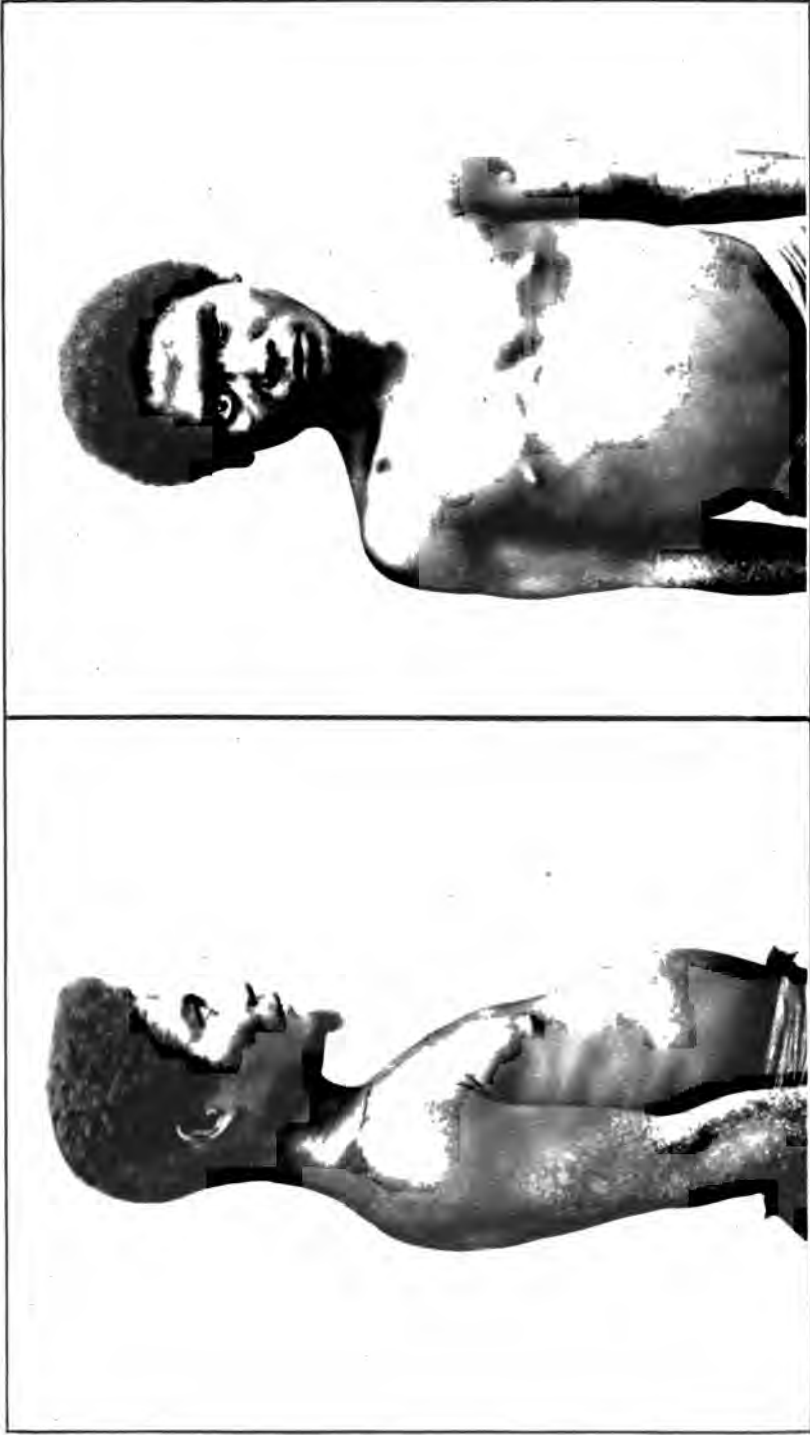


Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XIII. OLD MAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE NEGRITO), SHOWING HAIR ON FACE AND CHEST.

1

1



Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XIV. NEGRITO OF ZAMBALES, SHOWING HAIR ON THE CHIN AND SKIN DISEASE ON THE ARM.

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Vertical line on the right side of the page.

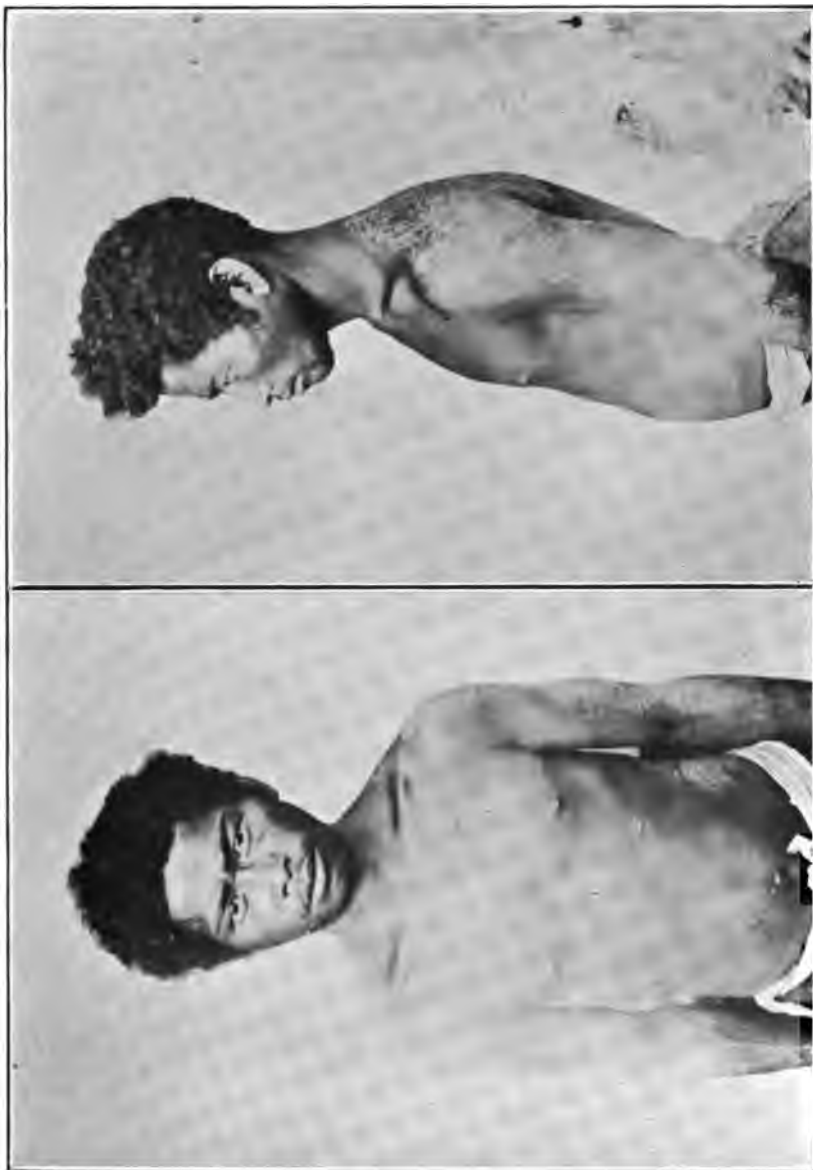


Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XV. PURE NEGRITO OF ZAMBALES, SHOWING HAIR ON THE CHIN.

Vertical line on the left margin.

Vertical line on the right margin.



Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XVI. NEGRÍTO MAN OF ZAMBALES, SHOWING HAIR ON THE FACE.

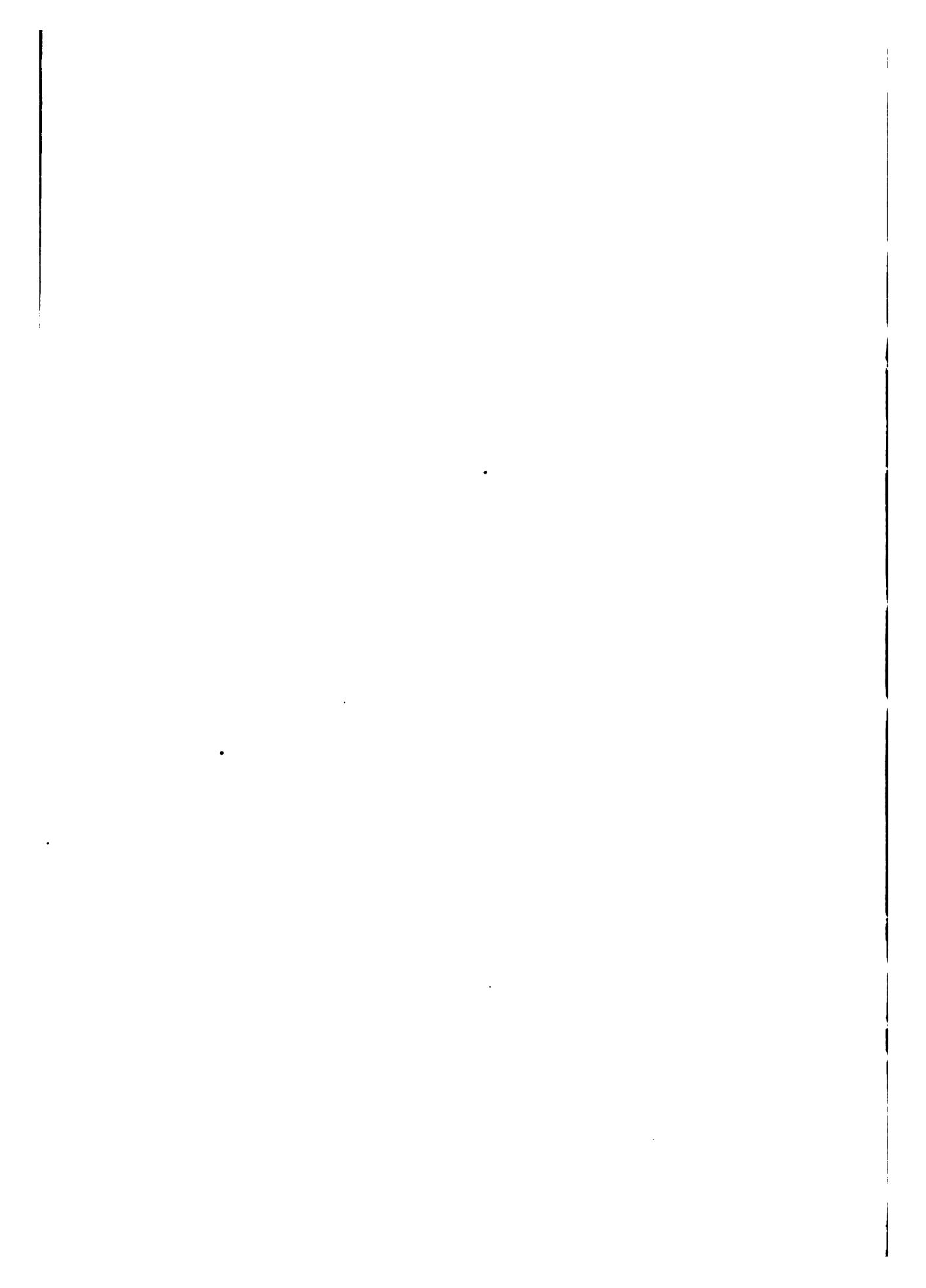
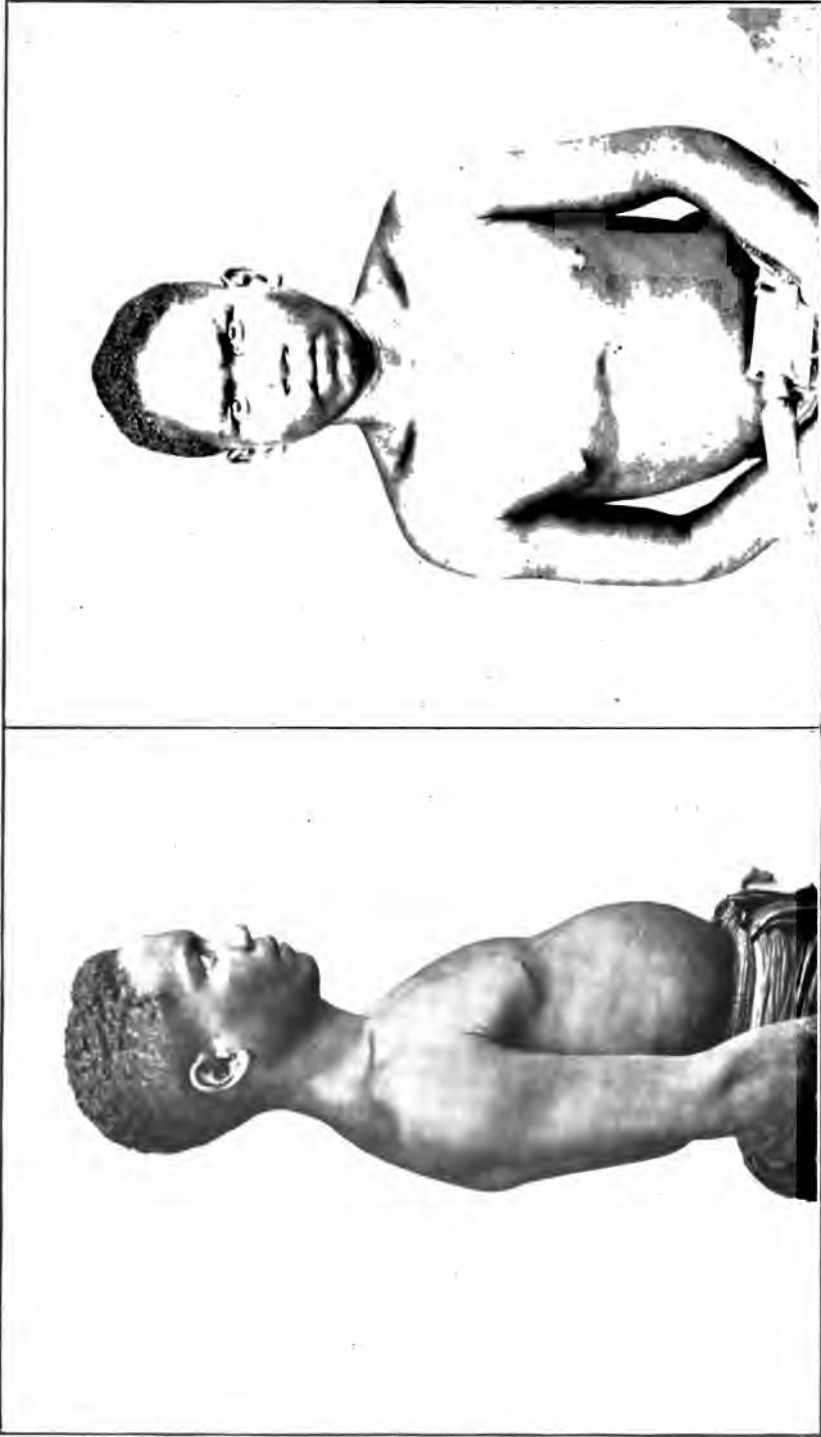




Photo by Diamond.
PLATE XVII. NEGRITO GIRLS. (ONE WITH HAIR CLIPPED BEHIND TO ERADICATE VERMIN.)

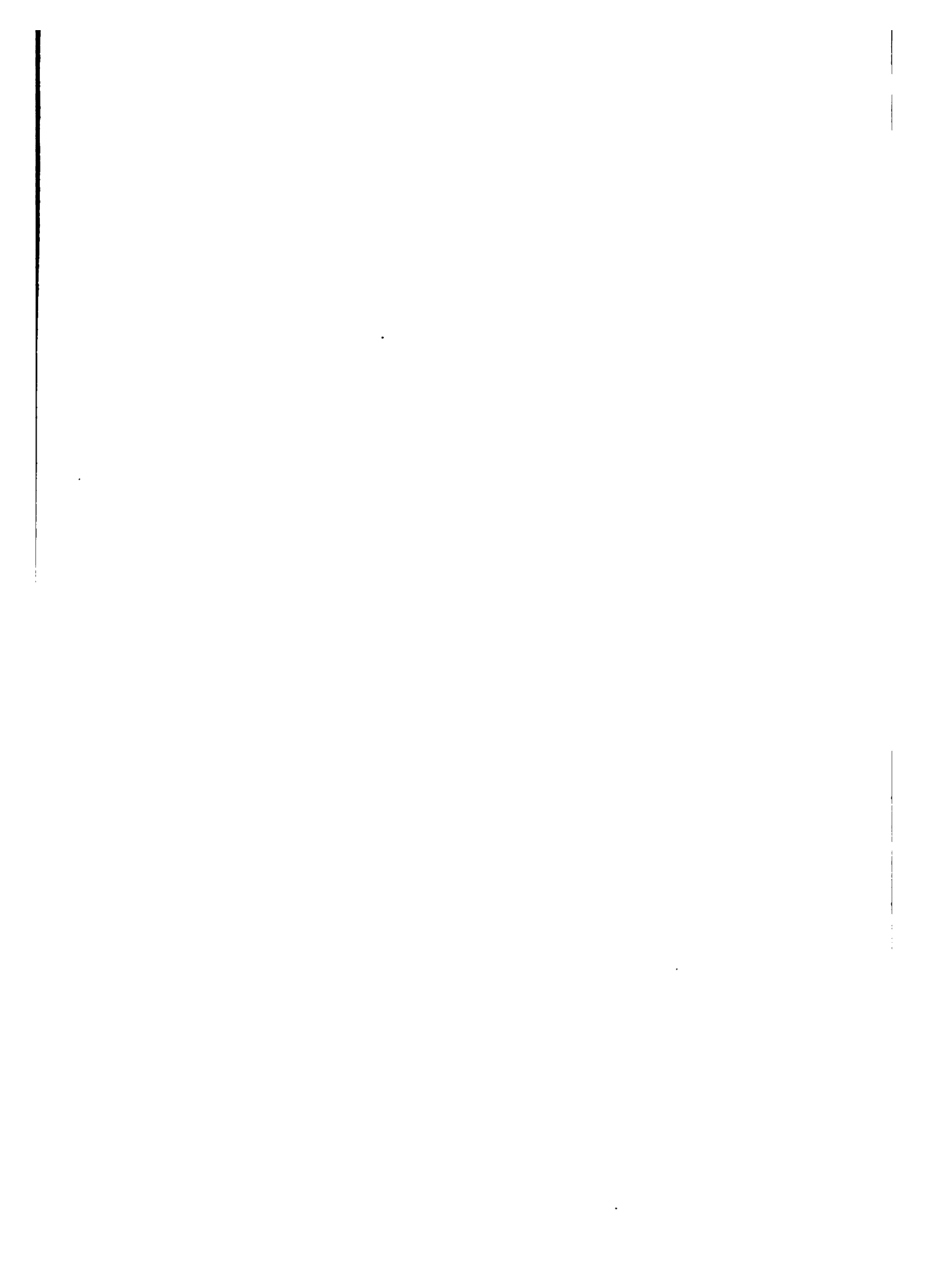
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Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XVIII. NEGRITO MAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE BLOOD).



total of more than 1,200. Besides these there are probably many scattered families, especially in the higher and less easily accessible forests of Mount Pinatubo, who live in no fixed spot but lead a wandering existence. And so uncertain are the habits of the more settled Negritos that one of the thirty rancherías known to-day may to-morrow be nothing more than a name, and some miles away a new ranchería may spring up. The tendency to remain in one place seems, however, to be growing.

The mountainous portions of the jurisdictions of the two towns of Botolan and San Marcelino, themselves many miles apart with three or more towns between, are contiguous, the one extending southeast, the other northeast, until they meet. The San Marcelino region contains about the same number of Negritos, grouped in many small communities around five large centers—Santa Fé, Aglao, Cabayan, Pañibutan, and Timao—each of which numbers some 300 Negritos. They are of the same type and culture plane as those nearer Piñatubo, and their habitat is practically the same, a continuation of the more or less rugged Cordillera. They are in constant communication with the Negritos north of them and with those across the Pampanga line east of them. The Negritos of Aglao are also in communication with those of Subig, where there is a single ranchería numbering 45 souls. Still farther south in the jurisdiction of Olongapo are two rancherías, numbering about 100 people, who partake more of the characteristics of the Negritos of Bataan just across the provincial line than they do of those of the north.

Here mention may be made also of the location of rancherías and numbers of Negritos in the provinces adjoining Zambales, as attention is frequently called to them later, especially those of Bataan, for the sake of comparison. Negritos are reported from all of the towns of Bataan, and there are estimated to be 1,500 of them, or about half as many as in Zambales. They are more numerous on the side toward Manila Bay, in the mountains back of Balanga, Orion, and Pilar. Moron and Bagac on the opposite coast each report more than a hundred. There is a colony of about thirty near Mariveles. Owing to repeated visits of tourists to their village and to the fact that they were sent to the Hanoi Exposition in 1903, this group has lost many of the customs peculiar to Negritos in a wild state and has donned the ordinary Filipino attire.

Cabcabe, also in the jurisdiction of Mariveles, has more than a hundred Negritos, and from here to Dinalupijan, the northernmost town of the province, there are from 50 to 200 scattered in small groups around each town and within easy distance. Sometimes, as at Balanga, they are employed on the sugar plantations and make fairly good laborers.

The Negritos of Bataan as a whole seem less mixed with the Malayan than any other group, and fewer mixed bloods are seen among them. Their average stature is also somewhat lower. They speak corrupt Tagalog, though careful study may reveal traces of an original tongue. (See Appendix B for a vocabulary.)

In the section of Pampanga lying near Zambales Province more than a thousand Negritos have been reported from the towns of Florida Blanca, Porac, Angeles, and Mabalacat. There are estimated to be about 1,200 in Tarlac, in the jurisdiction of the towns of O'Donnell, Moriones, Capas, Bamban, and Camiling. There are two or three good trails leading from this province into Zambales by which the Negritos of the two provinces communicate with each other. It is proposed to convert the one from O'Donnell to Botolan into a wagon road, which will have the effect of opening up a little-known territory. Across the line into Pangasinan near the town of Mangataren there is a colony of mixed Negritos somewhat more advanced in civilization than is usually the case with these forest dwellers. According to Dr. D. P. Barrows, who visited their rancherias in December, 1901, it seems to have been the intention of the Spanish authorities to form a reservation at that place which should be a center from which to reach the wilder bands in the hills and to induce them to adopt a more settled life. A Filipino was sent to the rancheria as a "maestro" and remained among the people six years. But the scheme fell through there as elsewhere in the failure of the authorities to provide homes and occupations for the Negritos. The Ilokano came in and occupied all the available territory, and the Negritos now hang around the Ilokano homes, doing a little work and picking up the little food thrown to them. Dr. Barrows states that the group contains no pure types characterized by wide, flat noses and kinky hair. In addition to the bow and arrows they carry a knife called "kampilan" having a wide-curving blade. They use this weapon in a dance called "baluk," brandishing it, snapping their fingers, and whirling about with knees close to the ground. This is farther north than Negritos are found in Zambales but is in territory contiguous to that of the Tarlac Negritos. The entire region contains about 6,000 souls. The groups are so scattered, however, that the territory may be said to be practically unoccupied.

CHAPTER III

NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES

PHYSICAL FEATURES

The characteristics which serve more than any others to distinguish the true Negrito from other inhabitants of the Philippines are his small stature, kinky hair, and almost black skin. His eyes may be more round, his nose more short and flat, and his limbs more spindling than is the case with peoples of Malayan extraction, but these features are usually less noticeable. Perhaps undue emphasis has been given by writers on the Negrito to his short stature, until the impression has gone abroad that these primitive men are veritable dwarfs. As a matter of fact, individuals sometimes attain the stature of the shortest of the white men, and apparently only a slight infusion of Malayan blood is necessary to cause the Negrito to equal the Malay in height.

The Aeta of Zambales range in stature from 4 to 5 feet. To be more exact, the maximum height of the 77 individuals measured by me, taking them as they came, with no attempt to select, was 1,600 millimeters (5 feet 2 inches); the maximum height for females was 1,502 millimeters (4 feet 11 inches); the minimum height for males was 1,282 millimeters (4 feet 2 inches), for females, 1,265 millimeters (4 feet). The average of the 48 males measured was 1,463 millimeters (4 feet 9 inches); of the 29 females, 1,378 millimeters (4 feet 6 inches). There is perhaps no greater variation between these figures than there would be between the averages of stature of as many individuals selected at random from any other race. Yet it should be remembered that some of the Negritos included in this list are not pure types—in fact, are no more than half-breeds.

The abnormal length of the arm of the Negritos has been regarded by some writers as an essentially simian characteristic, especially in the case of the pygmy blacks of Central Africa. With the Aeta this characteristic is not so marked, yet 7 out of 8 males had a reach or span greater than the height. The proportion was not so large among the females, being only 2 in 3. The maximum span for males was 1,635 millimeters, for females 1,538 millimeters, but in neither case did

the individuals having the greatest span also have the greatest height. The average span of 48 males exceeded the average height by 37 millimeters; the difference in the case of the females was only 16 millimeters.

Length of arm was taken on only 19 individuals, 16 males and 3 females. The longest arm measured 675 millimeters (2 feet 3 inches), which is not so long as the average Caucasian arm, though more out of proportion to the height, in this case being nearly half the latter measurement. The shortest arm, that of an adult female, was 539 millimeters (21 inches).

So far from being ape like in appearance, some of the Aeta are very well-built little men, with broad chests, symmetrical limbs, and well-developed muscles hardened by incessant use. This applies of course only to the young men and boys just approaching manhood, and is especially noticeable in the southern regions, where the Aeta are generally more robust and muscular. The younger females are also as a rule well formed. In the case of unmarried girls the breasts are rounded and erect, but after marriage gradually become more and more pendant until they hang almost to the waist line. With advancing age the muscles shrink, the skin shrivels up until an individual of 40 to 50 years usually has the decrepit appearance of an octogenarian; in fact, 50 is old age with the Aeta. (See plates.)

Anthropometric observations fall naturally into two groups, dealing with the proportions of the head and body, the latter of which have already been discussed. Great interest attaches also to the relative proportions of the different dimensions of the head and especially to the cephalic index obtained by multiplying the maximum breadth by 100 and dividing by the maximum length. Heads with an index of 75 or under are called *dolichocephalic*; those between 75 and 80, *mesocephalic*; and those over 80 *brachycephalic*. The heads of the Aeta are essentially *brachycephalic*. Owing to the lack of proper calipers during the greater part of my stay among them, I was able to measure only 19 individuals, but of those all but 5 were in the *brachycephalic* group, one instance being noted where the index was as great as 92; the lowest was 78. The average of the males was 82 and of the females 86.

Considerable importance in anthropometry is attached to the study of the nose. The typical Aeta nose may be described as broad, flat, bridgeless, with prominent arched alæ almost as high as the central cartilage of the nose and with the nostrils invariably visible from the front. The nasal index obtained by dividing the nasal breadth by the height from the root of the nose to the septum and multiplying the quotient by 100 serves to indicate the group to which the individual belongs. Thus it will be seen that races with a nasal index of more than 100 have a nose wider than it is long. This is a marked characteristic of the Aeta. Of the 76 Aeta I measured, 25 were *ultraplatyrhian*—that is, had a nasal index greater than 109. One individual, a

female, showed the surprising index of 140.7, the greatest so far recorded to my knowledge. The greatest nasal index among the males was 130.7. Only one example of a *mesorhine* nose was noted, also of a female, and but 7 *platyrhine*. The most of them belonged in the *hyperplatyrhine* group. The following table will show the proper classification of the individuals measured by me:

Nasal index of Zambales Negritos

Group	Sex and number	
	Males	Females
Mesorhine (69.5-81.4).....		1
Platyrhine (81.5-87.8).....	3	4
Hyperplatyrhine (87.9-106.8).....	27	16
Ultraplatyrhine (109 and over).....	15	10

The shape of the eye varies from the round negroid of the pure bloods to the elongated mongoloid in the case of mixed types. The color of the eyes is a very dark brown or black. The lips are medium thick, far less thick than the lips of the African negro, and are not protruding.

The hair of the Aeta is uniformly kinky in the case of the pure types. Individuals were noted with other negroid features but with curly hair, showing a probable mixture of blood. The hair grows low on the forehead and is very thick. Eyebrows are not heavy, save in particular instances, and beard is very scanty, though all adult males have some beard. There is very little body hair on adults of either sex, except in the axillary and pubic regions, and it is scant even in these places. The northern Negritos have practically none in the armpits. Two or three old men were seen with a coating of hair over the back, chest, and legs. The head hair is uniformly of a dirty black color, in some instances sunburned on top to a reddish brown. It turns gray at a comparatively early age, and baldness is frequent. (See Pls. XI, XII, XIII, XIV, XV, XVI.)

In the case of women the hair is generally allowed to grow long, and in this tangled, uncombed state furnishes an excellent breeding place for vermin. However, if the vermin become troublesome the hair is sometimes cut short. (See Pl. XVII.) The cutting is done with the ever-useful bolo or sharp knife and is a somewhat laborious and painful process. Sometimes the hair may be cropped behind and left long on top. This is a favorite style of wearing it among the men, and is frequently followed by the women. Attempt is seldom made to comb the hair, but frequent vermin-catching onslaughts are made, the person performing the work using a sharp piece of bamboo to separate the tangled kinks and to mash the offending parasite against the

thumb nail. In Bataan the Negritos sometimes shave a circular place on the crown, but I am not informed as to the reason. The practice is not followed in Zambales.

The color of the skin is a dark chocolate brown rather than black, and on unexposed portions of the body approaches a yellowish tint of the Malayan. The loathsome skin disease common in the northern region of Luzon gives it a mottled appearance.

The Aeta have practically no prognathism. The hands are not large, but the feet are larger in proportion to the size of the body than those of Filipinos. The toes are spreading, and the large toe frequently extends inward so much as to attract attention, though this can not be said to be a marked characteristic of all individuals. It may be caused by a constant practice of the tree climber—that of grasping a branch between the large toes and the other toes. I have seen Negrito boys who would use their feet in this respect as well as they used their hands.

PERMANENT ADORNMENT

The custom prevails throughout the entire Negrito territory of sharpening the teeth. Usually only the upper teeth are so treated, but numerous cases were noted where the teeth were sharpened both above and below, and still there were others where they were not sharpened at all. This sharpening is not performed at any certain age, and it is apparently not obligatory; I do not believe parents compel their children to submit to this practice. The object seems to be largely for the sake of adornment, but the Negritos say that sharpened teeth enable them to eat corn with greater ease. The sharpening is done by placing the blade of a bolo against the part of the tooth to be broken away and giving it a sharp rap with a piece of wood. The operation, called "ta-li-han," is a somewhat delicate one, requiring care to prevent breaking through into the soft part of the tooth and exposing the nerve, and is no doubt practiced by only one or two persons in a group, though this fact could not be ascertained. Notwithstanding this mutilation, the teeth seem to be remarkably healthy and well preserved except in old age.

In like manner each group of people possesses its scarifier, who by practice becomes adept. Scarification simply for purposes of ornamentation is not practiced to any great extent by the Negritos around Pinatubo. They burn themselves for curative purposes (see Chap. VI) and are sometimes covered with scars, but not the kind of scars produced by incisions. Only occasionally is the latter scarification seen near Pinatubo. In regions where it is common the work is usually done at the age of 15 or 16, although it may be done at any age. The incisions are made with a knife or a very sharp piece of cane, and generally follow some regular design. Scarification is called "ta-bád," and it

has no other significance than adornment. The parts of the body usually marked are the breast, shoulders, and back, although scars are occasionally seen on the legs.

CLOTHING AND DRESS

The clothing of the Negrito consists simply of the breechcloth and an occasional cast-off shirt given him by some Filipino in exchange for articles. Sometimes in cases of extreme prosperity he may possess a hat and a pair of trousers. The latter garment is usually worn, however, only by the chief man or "capitán" of the tribe, and the rank and file wear only the breechcloth.

A strip of cloth fastened around the waist and extending to the knees serves a woman for a dress. With unmarried girls this strip may be wound under the arms and so cover the breast. Rarely a short camisa is worn, but seldom do the camisa and the saya, or skirt, join. Sometimes, owing to the scarcity of cloth, a narrow strip will be worn over the breast, leaving a broad expanse of dark skin between it and the saya. (Pls. XXIX et seq.)

If given their choice among a variety of colors the Negritos always select black for their breechcloth and saya, because, they explain, the black will not show dirt as will other colors. Gaudy colors seem to attract and will be readily accepted as gifts if nothing else is at hand; yet I had some difficulty in disposing of a bolt of red cloth I had taken among them, and finally had to take the greater part of it back to the pueblo and exchange it for black. So far as I could learn the breechcloth and saya are never washed, and any cloth other than black would soon lose its original color. The cloth used by Negritos is procured in trade from the Christian towns.

In the less easily accessible regions where the wilder Negritos live the breechcloth and saya are made of the inner bark of certain trees which is flayed until it becomes soft and pliable.

The Negrito takes little pride in his personal appearance, and hence is not given to elaborate ornamentation. The women wear seed necklaces, called "col-in'-ta," of black, white, and brown seeds, sometimes of a single solid color and sometimes with the colors alternating. I have also seen necklaces of small stones, hard berries of some sort, pieces of button or bone, and little round pieces of wood. Some women possess glass beads secured in trade from the Christianized natives. Often two or three white or black beads are used for ear ornaments, though it is not a very common practice to puncture the ears for this purpose as in Bataan, where leaves and flowers are often worn stuck in a hole through the lobe of the ear. What appears to be a necklace and really answers the purpose of such is a string of dried berries, called "a-mu-yong," which are said to be efficacious for the pangs of indigestion. (See Pl. XXXV.) When the Negrito feels a pain within

him he pulls off a berry and eats it. One may see a string with just a few berries, and again a complete necklace of them, evidently just put on. These are worn by both sexes and are so worn for the sake of convenience as much as with the idea of ornamentation, for the Negrito has no pocket. Necklaces of fine woven strips of bejuco or vegetable fiber are sometimes seen but are not common. These strands are woven over a piece of cane, the lengthwise strands being of one color, perhaps yellow, and the crosswise strands black, giving a very pretty effect and making a durable ornament which the Negritos call "la-lao'."

Hair ornaments are not generally worn, but nearly every Negrito, male and female, especially in southern Zambales and Bataan, possesses one or more of the so-called combs of bamboo. A single style prevails over the entire Negrito territory, differing only in minor details. A section of bamboo or mountain cane, varying in length from 5 to 10 inches, is split in thirds or quarters and one of these pieces forms the body of the comb. Teeth are cut at one end and the back is ornamented according to the taste of the maker by a rude carving. This carving consists simply of a series of lines or cuts, following some regular design into which dirt is rubbed to make it black. The combs may be further decorated with bright-colored bird feathers fastened with beeswax or gum to the concave side of the end which has no teeth. The feathers may be notched saw-tooth fashion and have string tassels fastened to the ends. In lieu of feathers horsehair and a kind of moss or other plant fiber are often used. The most elaborate decorations were noticed only in the north, while the combs of the south have either no ornamentation or have simply the hair or moss. These combs, which the Negritos call "hook'-lay," are made and worn by both men and women, either with the tasseled and feathered ends directly in front or directly behind. (See Pl. XXXVI.)

Leglets of wild boars' bristles, called "a-yá-bun," are more common in the south than in the north. These are made by taking a strip of bejuco and fastening the bristles to it so that they stand out at right angles to the leg of the wearer. They are used only by men and are worn on either leg, usually on the right just below the knee. The Negritos say these leglets give the wearer greater powers of endurance and are efficacious in making long journeys less tiresome. "For is not the wild boar the most hardy of all animals?" they ask. This idea is further carried out in the wearing of pieces of boars' skin with the hair attached, which may often be seen tied around the legs or wrists. Deerskin, which is quite as common among the Negritos, is never used in such fashion. Metal rings and bracelets are entirely unknown among the Negritos except where secured from the coast towns. (See Pl. XXXVII.)

CHAPTER IV

INDUSTRIAL LIFE

HOME LIFE

The general condition of the Negritos, although not one of extreme misery, is indeed pitiable. Their life is a continual struggle for sufficient food, but their efforts to provide for themselves stop short at that; clothing and houses are of secondary importance. The average Negrito takes little pride in his dwelling place. A shelter sufficient to turn the beating rains is all he asks. He sees to it that the hut is on ground high enough so that water will not stand in it; then, curled up beside his few coals of fire, he sleeps with a degree of comfort.

The most easily constructed hut, and therefore the most common, consists simply of two forked sticks driven into the ground so they stand about 8 feet apart and 4 feet high. A horizontal piece is laid in the two forks, then some strips of bamboo are inclined against this crosspiece, the other ends resting on the ground. Some cross strips are tied with bejuco to these bamboos and the whole is covered with banana leaves. With the materials close at hand a half hour is sufficient for one man to construct such a shelter. Where a comparatively long residence in one place is contemplated more care may be given the construction of a house, but the above description will apply to many dwellings in a rancharia two or three years old. Instead of two upright pieces make it four, somewhat higher, and place a bamboo platform within so the occupants do not have to sleep on the ground, and you have an approved type of Negrito architecture. Sometimes as an adjunct to this a shelter may be erected in front, provided with a bamboo seat for the accommodation of visitors. The more prosperous Negritos in the long-established rancherias have four-posted houses of bamboo, with roof and sides of cogon grass. The floors are 4 feet from the ground and the cooking is done underneath the floors. A small fire is kept burning all night. The inmates of the house sleep just above it, and in this way receive some benefit of the warmth. If it were not for these fires the Negrito would suffer severely from cold during the night, for he possesses no blanket and uses no covering of any sort.

For two reasons he never lets his fire go out; first, because he likes to feel the warmth continually, and second, because it is something of a task to build a fire, once it has gone out. (See Pls. XXXVIII, XXXIX.)

The method of making fire used universally by the Negritos of Zambales is that of the flint and steel, which apparatus they call "pan'-ting." The steel is prized highly, because it is hard to get; it is procured in trade from the Christianized natives. Nearly every Negrito carries a flint and steel in a little grass basket or case dangling down his back and suspended by a fiber string from his neck. In the same basket are usually tobacco leaves, buyo, and other small odds and ends. Sometimes this pouch is carried in the folds of the breechcloth, which is the only pocket the Negrito possesses.

The flint-and-steel method of fire making has almost entirely supplanted the more primitive method of making fire by rubbing two sticks together; but in some instances this method is still followed, and everywhere the Negritos know of it. They do not know whether the method is original with them or not, but they admit they borrowed the flint-and-steel idea from the Filipinos. When the friction process is employed a piece of bamboo with a hole in it, in which are firmly held some fine shavings or lint, is violently rubbed crosswise against the edge of another piece until the friction ignites the lint. It is called "pan-a-han'." When two men are working together one holds the lower piece firmly while the other man rubs across it the sharpened edge of the upper piece. If a man is working alone the piece with the sharpened edge is held firmly between the ground and the man's waist; the other piece of bamboo with the slit in is rubbed up and down on the sharp edge. (See Pls. XL, XLl.)

In lieu of other vessels, rice and similar foods are cooked in joints of green bamboo, which are placed in the coals and hot ashes. When the food is cooked the bamboo is split open and the contents poured out on banana leaves. This is by far the most common method employed, though not a few Negritos possess earthenware pots, and some few have a big iron vessel. Meats are always roasted by cutting into small bits and stringing on a strip of cane. Maize is roasted on hot coals. Everything is eaten without salt, although the Negritos like salt and are very glad to get it.

It has already been noted that the Negrito has a hard time to get enough to eat, and for that reason there is scarcely anything in the animal or vegetable kingdom of his environment of which he does not make use. He never has more than two meals a day, sometimes only one, and he will often start early in the morning on a deer hunt without having eaten any food and will hunt till late in the afternoon. In addition to the fish, eels, and crayfish of the streams, the wild boar and wild chicken of the plain and woodland, he will eat iguanas and

any bird he can catch, including crows, hawks, and vultures. Large pythons furnish especially toothsome steaks, so he says, but, if so, his taste in this respect is seldom satisfied, for these reptiles are extremely scarce.

Besides rice, maize, camotes, and other cultivated vegetables there is not a wild tuber or fruit with which the Negrito's stomach is not acquainted. Even some that in their raw state would be deadly poisonous he soaks and boils in several waters until the poison is extracted, and then he eats them. This is the case with a yellow tuber which he calls "ca-lot'." In its natural form it is covered with stiff bristles. The Negritos peel off the skin and slice the vegetable into very thin bits and soak in water two days, after which it is boiled in two or three waters until it has lost its yellow color. In order to see if any poison still remains some of it is fed to a dog, and if he does not die they themselves eat it. In taste it somewhat resembles cooked rice. This was told me by an old Negrito who I believe did not possess enough invention to make it up, and is in part verified by Mr. O. Atkin, division superintendent of Zambales, who says in a report to the General Superintendent of Education, October, 1903, concerning the destitution of the town of Infanta, that the people of that town were forced by scarcity of food to eat this tuber, there called "co-rot'." He was told that it was soaked in running water five or six days before cooking, and if not prepared in this way it would cause severe sickness, even death. In fact, some cases were known where persons had died eating co-rot'.

A white, thin-skinned tuber, called "bol'-wi," which is found in the forests, is highly prized by the Negritos, although it grows so deep in the ground that the labor of digging it is considerable. Among the cultivated vegetables are the common butter beans, called "an-tak'," and black beans, known as "an-tak' ik-no'" or "sitting-down beans" from the fact that the pods curl up at one end. Ga-bi and bau'-gan are white tubers, and u'-bi a dark-red tuber—which they eat. Other common products are maize, pumpkins, and camotes.

The Negrito has ordinarily no table but the bare ground, and at best a coarse mat; he has no dishes but banana leaves and cocoanut shells, and no forks or spoons but his fingers. He brings water from a stream in a piece of bamboo about three joints long in which all but one joint has been punched out, and drinks it from a piece of cocoanut shell. If he needs to cut anything to eat he has his ever-ready bolo, which he may have used a moment before in skinning a pig and which is never washed. He is repulsively dirty in his home, person, and everything he does. Nothing is ever washed except his hands and face, and those only rarely. He never takes a bath, because he thinks that if he bathes often he is more susceptible to cold, that a covering

of dirt serves as clothing, although he frequently gets wet either in the rain or when fishing or crossing streams. This is probably one reason why skin diseases are so common.

AGRICULTURE

The Negrito can not by any stretch of imagination be called a worker. His life for generations has not been such as to teach habits of industry. But for the fact that he has to do some work or starve, he would spend all his days in idleness except that time which he devoted to the chase. Yet when under pressure or urged on by anticipation of gain from the white man, whose wealth and munificence appear boundless, he is tireless. He will clear ground for a camp, cut and split bamboo, and make tables and sleeping platforms, which he would never think of doing for himself. He can get along without such things, and why waste the time? Yet when the camp is abandoned he will carry these things to his house. Most Negritos have seen the better style of living followed by the more civilized Filipinos in the outlying barrios; yet they seem to have no desire to emulate it, and I believe that the lack of such desire is due to a disinclination to perform the necessary manual labor.

By far the greater part of the Negrito's energies are directed to the growing of tobacco, maize, and vegetables. He does not plant rice to any extent. All planting is done in cleared spots in the forest, because the soil is loose and needs no plowing as in the case of the lowland. The small trees and underbrush are cut away and burned and the large trees are killed, for the Negrito has learned the two important things in primitive farming—first, that the crops will not thrive in the shade, and second, that a tree too large to cut may be killed by cutting a ring around it to prevent the flow of sap. The clearings are never large.

Usually each family has its clearing in a separate place, though sometimes two or more families may cultivate adjoining clearings. The places are selected with a view to richness of soil and ease in clearing. In addition to preparing the ground it is necessary to build a fence around the clearing in order to keep out wild hogs. A brush fence is constructed by thrusting sticks in the ground a few inches apart and twining brush between them.

All work of digging up the soil, planting, and cultivating is done with sharpened sticks of hard wood, sometimes, but not always, pointed with iron, for iron is scarce. This instrument is called "ti-ad'," the only other tool they possess being the bolo, with which they do all the cutting.

Men, women, and children work in these clearings, but I did not see any division of labor, except that the men, being more adept with the bolo, do whatever cutting there is to be done. Once planted, the

weeding and care of the crops falls largely on the women and children, while the men take their ease or hunt and fish.

The piece of ground for planting is regarded as the personal property of the head of the family which cleared it, and he can sell it or otherwise dispose of it at his pleasure. No one else would think of planting on it even though the owner has abandoned it, unless he declared that he had no more use for it, then it could be occupied by anyone else.

An instance of the respect which the Negritos have for the property rights of others was given me by a native of the town of Botolan. His grandfather had acquired a piece of land near Mount Pinatubo from a Negrito who had committed some crime in his rancheria and fled to the pueblo to escape death. In return for protection the Negrito had given him the land. This fact became known to the other Negritos, but although the new owner made no use of the land whatever, and never even visited it, it has never been molested or cultivated by others. Now two generations later they have sent down to the grandson of the first Filipino owner asking permission to buy the land. Land may be sold to others, but of course there exists no record of such transactions other than that of memory.

MANUFACTURE AND TRADE

The Negrito knows little of the art of making things. Aside from the bows and arrows which he constructs with some degree of skill he has no ingenuity, and his few other products are of the most crude and primitive type. The bows of the Negritos of Zambales are superior to any the writer has seen in the Philippines. They are made from the wood of the well-known *palma brava* and are gracefully cut and highly polished. The strings are of twisted bark, as soft and pliable and as strong as thongs of deerskin. Although made from the same wood, the bows of the Negritos of Negros are not nearly so graceful, and the strings consist simply of one piece of bejuco with a small loop at either end which slips over the end of the bow, and, once on, can neither be loosened nor taken up. The Negritos of Panay generally use a bamboo bow, much shorter and clumsier than those of *palma brava*.

Also, while the Negritos of the southern islands generally use arrows with hardwood points and without feathered shafts, those used in Zambales are triumphs of the arrow maker's art. In either case the shafts are of the light, hard, and straight mountain cane, but instead of the clumsy wooden points the Zambales Negritos make a variety of iron points for different purposes, some, as for large game, with detachable points. (See Pl. XLII.) The shafts are well feathered with the feathers of hawks and other large birds. Three feathers are placed about the arrow and securely wrapped at each end with a thin strip of bejuco or some strong grass.

The war arrows, in addition to having more elaborately barbed points, are further embellished by incised decorations the entire length of the shaft. These incisions consist simply of a series of lines into which dirt has been rubbed so that they offer a striking contrast to the white surface of the arrow.

The women weave some coarse baskets out of bamboo, but they are neither well shaped nor pretty. Sometimes to adorn them one strand or strip of bamboo is stained black and the other left its natural color. Other objects of manufacture are their ornaments, already described in Chapter III, and musical instruments. (See Chap. VI.)

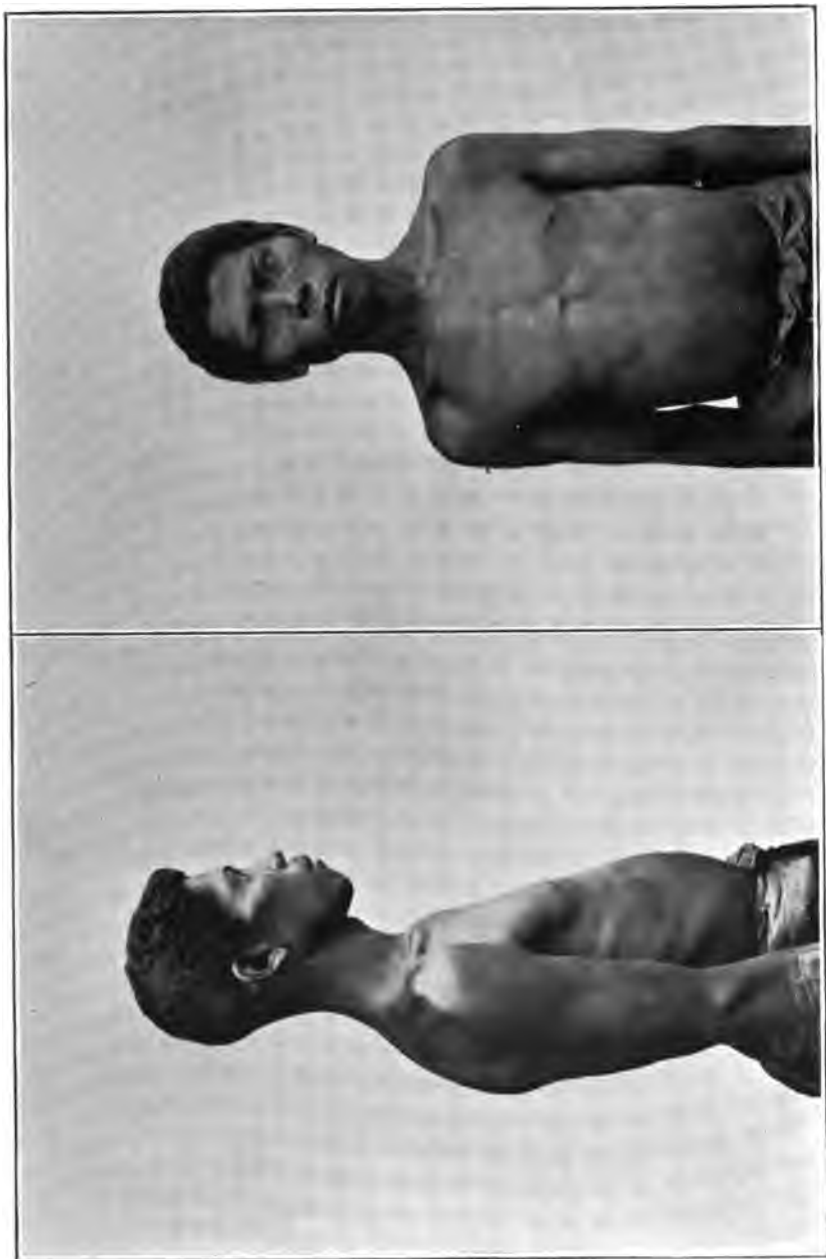
The Negrito knows that the people of the lowlands for some reason have more food than he. He can not go down and live there and work as they do, because, being timid by nature, he can not feel secure amid an alien people, and, besides, he likes his mountain too well to live contentedly in the hot plains. He makes nothing that the lowlands want, but he knows they use, in the construction of their houses, bejuco, of which his woods are full, and he has learned that they value beeswax, which he knows where to find and how to collect. Moreover, there are certain mountain roots, such as wild ginger, that have a market value. His tobacco also finds a ready sale to the Filipinos.

The bolo is the only tool necessary to cut and strip the bejuco, which he ties into bunches of one hundred and takes into his hut for safety until such a time as a trade can be made. These bunches never bring him more than a peseta each. He collects the beeswax from a nest of wild bees which he has smoked out, melts it, and pours it into a section of bamboo.

It is not always necessary that he take his products down to the town, for the Filipinos are eager enough to trade with him to go out to his rancheria carrying the little cloth, rice, iron, or steel that he is willing to take for his hard-gained produce. Perhaps the townspeople go out because they can drive better bargains. However that may be, the Negrito always gets the worst of the deal, whether in town or at his own home.

HUNTING AND FISHING

The Negrito is by instinct, habits, and of necessity a hunter. Although he has advanced somewhat beyond that stage of primitive life where man subsists wholly from the fruits of the chase, yet it is so necessary to him that were he deprived of it the existence of his race would be seriously threatened. Since the chase has furnished him a living for centuries, it is not strange that much of the ingenuity he possesses should be devoted to the construction of arms and traps and snares with which he may kill or capture the creatures of the woods and streams. His environment does not supply a great variety of game, but there are always deer and wild boars in abundance. Then there



Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XIX. NEGRITO MAN OF ZAMBALES (MIXED BLOOD).

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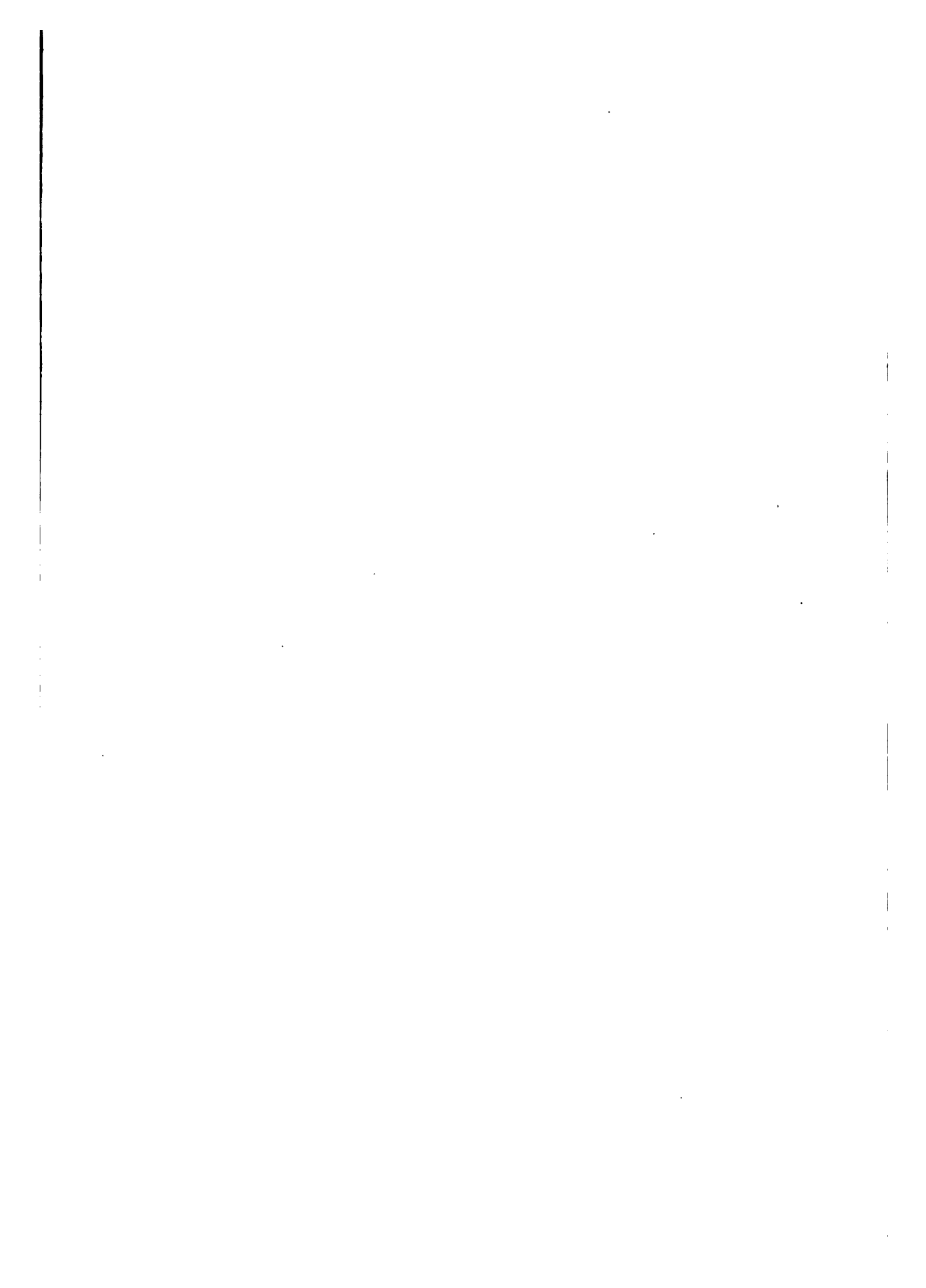
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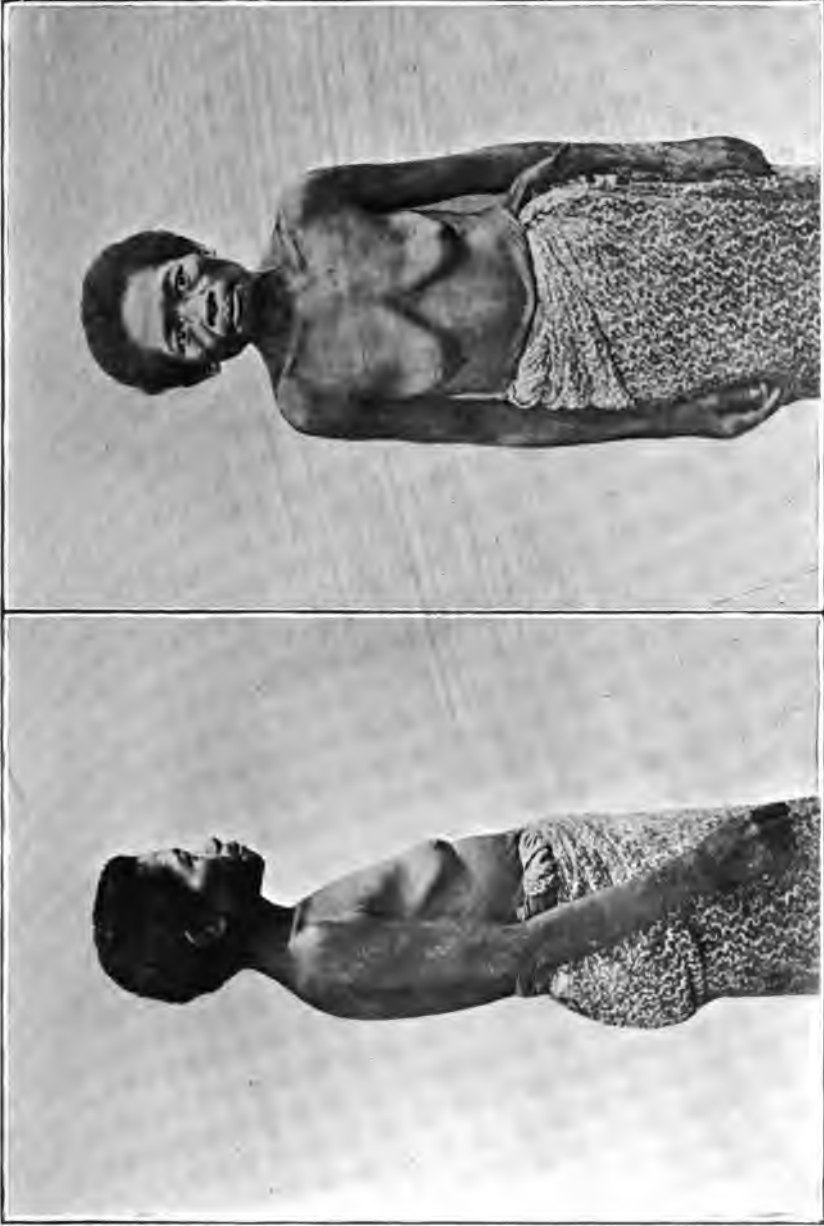
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Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XX. NEGRO MAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE BLOOD).





Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XXIV. OLD NEGRITO WOMAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE BLOOD).

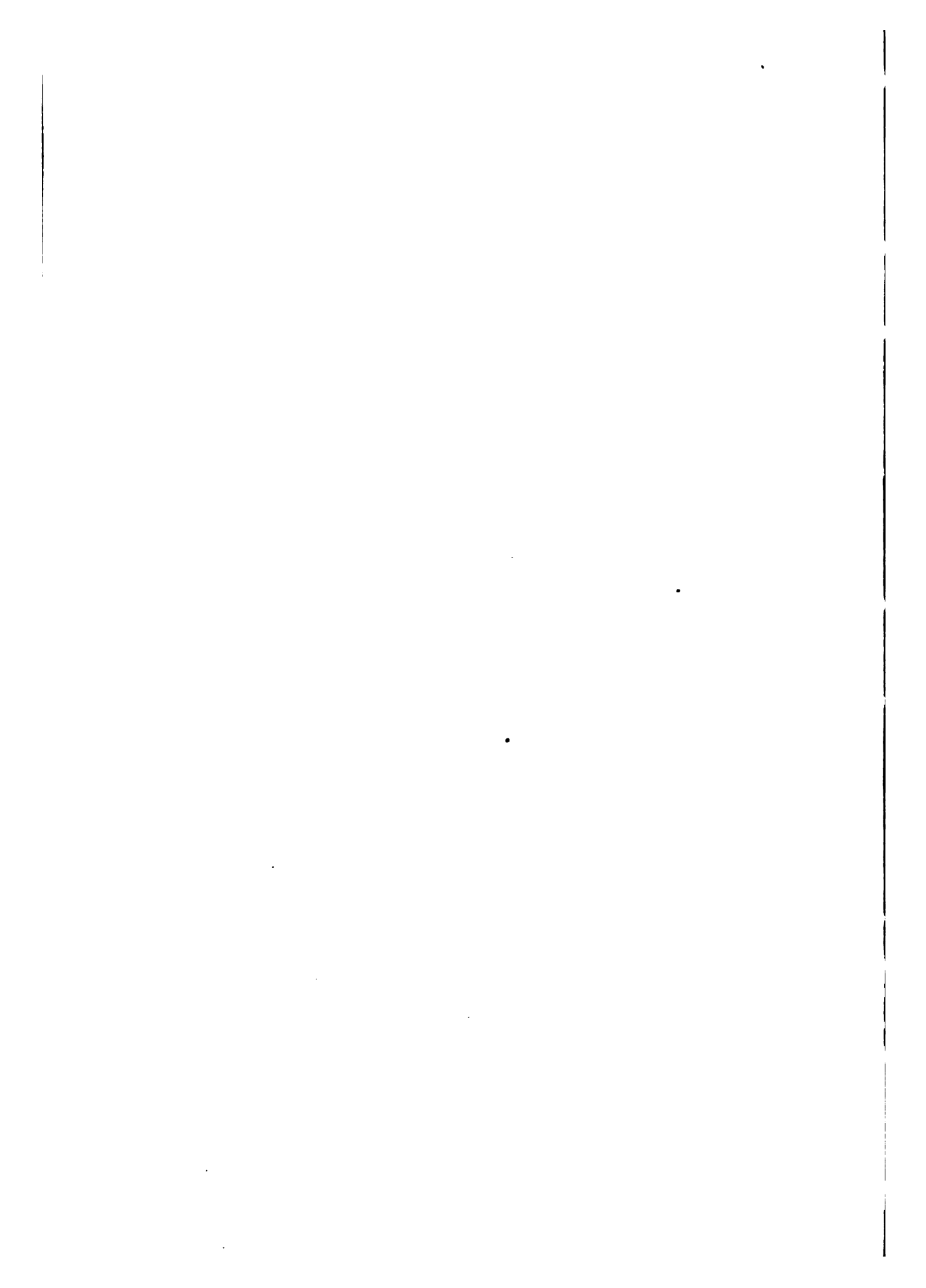
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Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XXIV. OLD NEGRITO WOMAN OF ZAMBALES (PURE BLOOD).

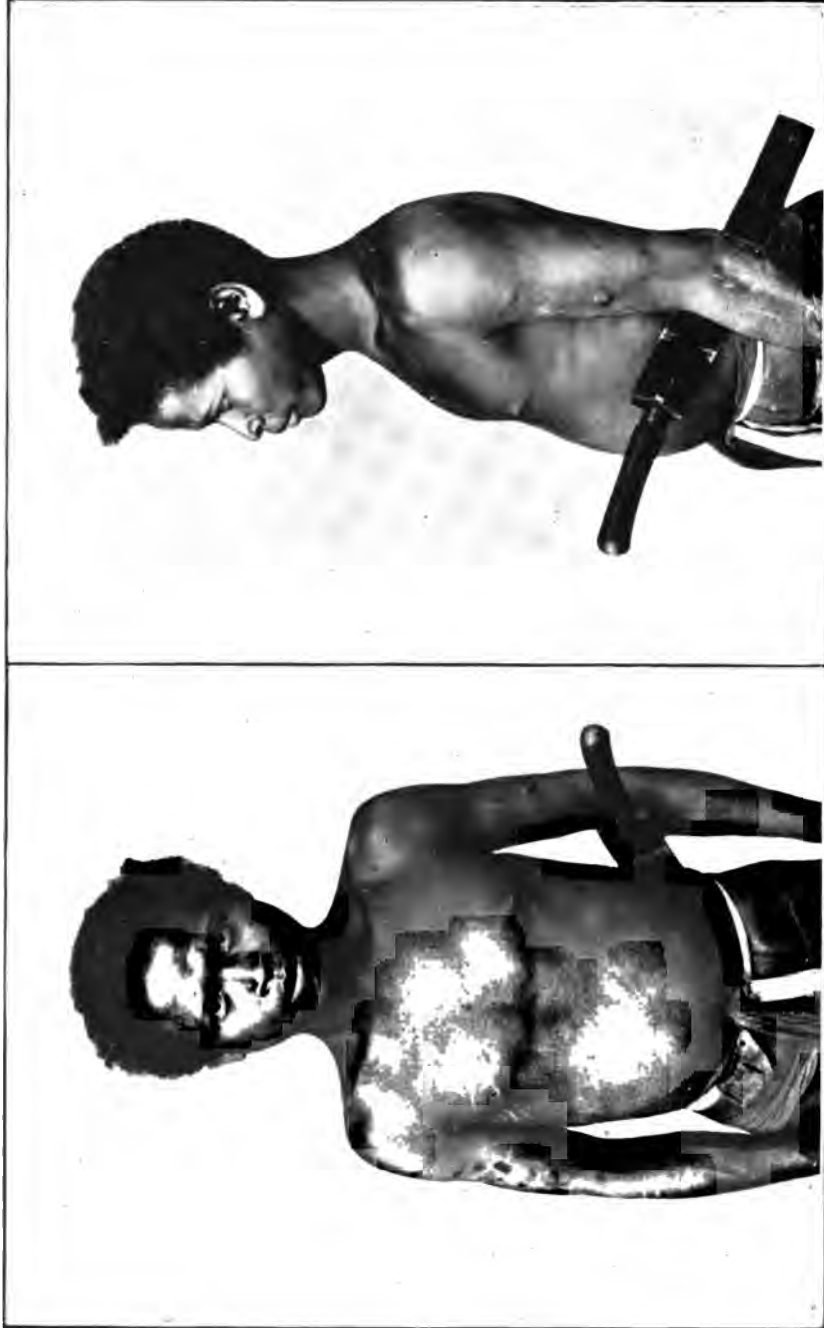




Photos by Reed.

PLATE XXVI. NEGRITO MAN OF NEGROS (MIXED BLOOD).





Photos by Diamond.

PLATE XXVII. NEGRITO MAN OF ZAMBALES.



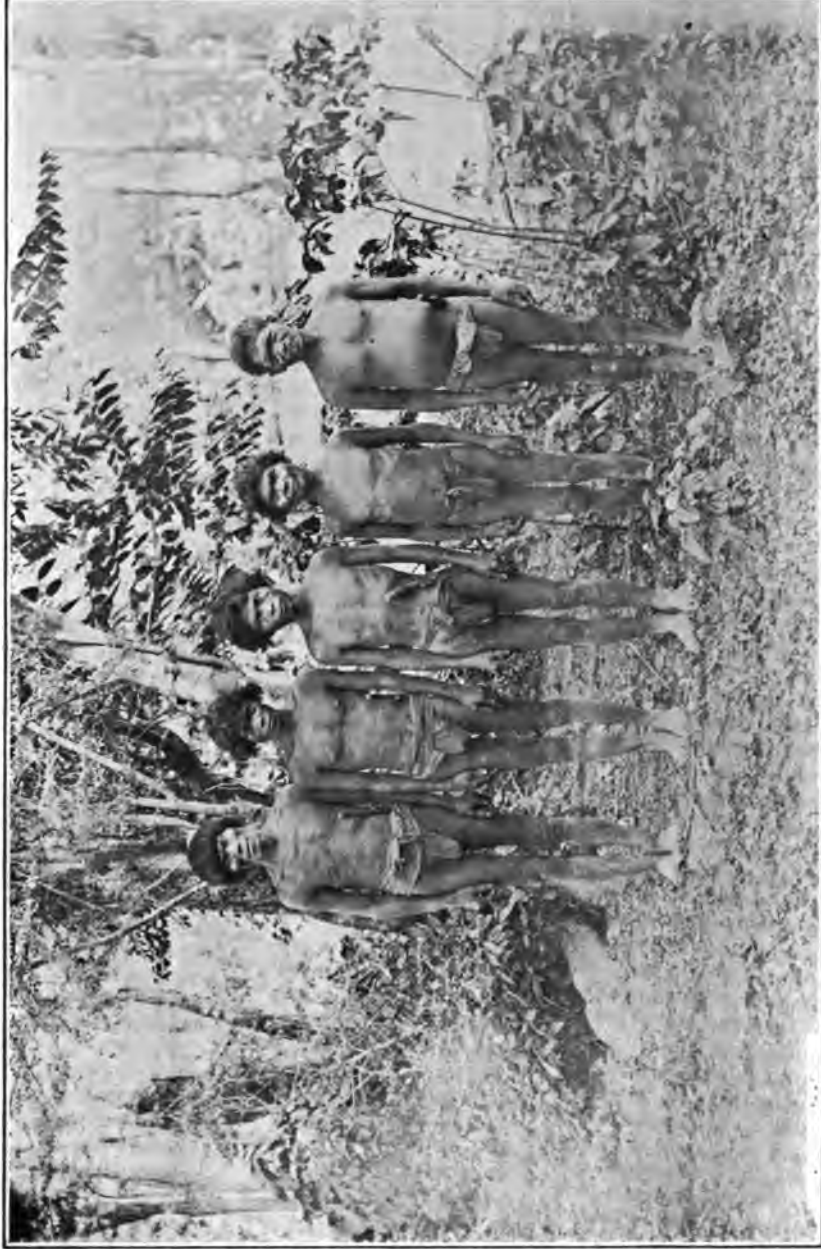


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE XXXI. .NEGritos OF ZAMBALES (MIXED BLOODS).

are wild chickens and many birds which none but the Negrito would think of eating, and the mountain streams have a few small fish.

It is the capture of the deer which makes the greatest demands on the Negrito's skill. Doubtless his first efforts in this direction were to lie in wait by a run and endeavor to get a shot at a passing animal. But this required an infinite amount of patience, for the deer has a keen nose, and two or three days might elapse before the hunter could get even a glimpse of the animal. So he bethought himself of a means to entrap the deer while he rested at home. At first he made a simple noose of bejuco so placed in the run that the deer's head would go through it and it would close on his neck like a lasso. But this was not very effective. In the first place it was necessary that the run be of the right width with underbrush on either side, because if the noose were too large the deer might jump through it and if too small he might brush it to one side.

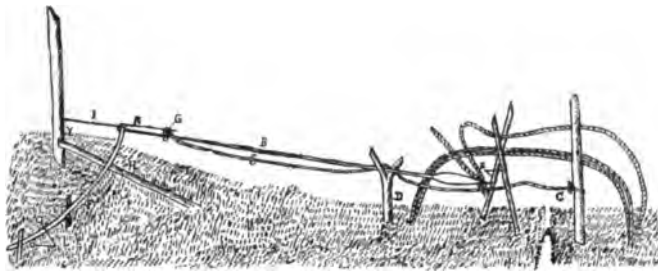


FIG. 1.—“Belatic,” trap used by Negritos.

(A, The run of the animal; B, Spear; C, Bejuco string which the animal strikes; D, Support for spear; G, Ring to which string is tied; F, Spring; K, Strip of cane fastened to end of F, bent over and held down by G; I, String fastened to K and hence holding spring; J, Upright to which I is tied; H, Brace; E, Crossed sticks to drive animal through opening; L, Pegs to hold spring in place.)

The results of this method were so uncertain that the practice has fallen into disuse. Recourse is now had to the deadly “belatic.” I do not believe that this trap, which is common nearly all over the Philippines, is original with the Negrito. It is probably the product of the Malayan brain. A trap almost identical with this and called “belantay” is described by Mr. Abraham Hale¹ as belonging to the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, whom the Philippine Negrito resembles in many ways. The similarity between the two words “belatic” and “belantay” is apparent. In Ilokano and Pampanga this trap is called “balantic,” accented, like the Sakai term, on the last syllable. In Tagalog and Bisayan the letter “n” is dropped and the word is pronounced “be-lat’-ic.” Mr. Hale does not state whether the word is Sakai or is borrowed from the Malay. But according to Clifford and Swettenham’s Malay Dictionary the pure Malay term is “belante,” which, as it is even more

¹ Journal Anth. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 15.

similar to the terms in use in the Philippines, puts an end to the doubt concerning the origin of the word.

The belatic consists of a long arrow or spear, which is driven, with all the force of a drawn bough or other piece of springy wood, across the path of the animal which strikes the cord, releasing the spring. (See fig. 1.)

When the string C is struck it pulls the movable ring G, releasing K, which immediately flies up, releasing the string I and hence the spring F. The spear, which is usually tied to the end of the spring, though it may simply rest against it, immediately bounds forward, impaling the animal. The spring is either driven into the ground or is firmly held between the two uprights L. This trap is almost invariably successful.

Wild chickens and birds are caught with simple spring traps. The hungry bird tugging at an innocent-appearing piece of food releases a spring which chokes him to death. The noose snare for catching wild chickens invented by the Christianized natives is also used to some extent by the Negritos. This trap consists of a lot of small nooses of rattan or bejuco so arranged on a long piece of cane that assisted by pegs driven into the ground they retain an upright position. This is arranged in convex form against a wall or thicket of underbrush so that a bird can not enter the space thus inclosed except by way of the trap. In this inclosed area is placed a tame cock whose crowing attracts the wild one. The latter, spoiling for a fight, makes for the noisy challenger and runs his head through a noose which draws the tighter the more he struggles.

The Negrito, as has been said, is remarkably ingenious in the construction of arrows. Those with which he hunts the deer are provided with cruelly barbed, detachable iron point. (Figs. 8, 9, Pl. XLII.) When the animal is struck the point leaves the shaft, unwinding a long woven coil with which the two are fastened together. The barbs prevent the point from tearing out of the flesh and the dangling shaft catches on the underbrush and serves to retard the animal's flight. In spite of this, however, the stricken deer sometimes gets away, probably to die a lingering death with the terrible iron point deeply imbedded in its flesh. A similar arrow is mentioned by De Quatrefages as having been found by Man among the Mincopies of the Andamans.¹

The arrows which are used to kill smaller animals and birds have variously shaped iron heads without barbs. (Figs. 10, 11, 12, 13, Pl. XLII.) However, in shooting small birds a bamboo arrow is used. One end is split a little way, 5 or 6 inches, into three, four, or five sections. These are sharpened and notched and are held apart by small wedges securely fixed by wrappings of cord. If the bird is not

¹ Pygmies, p. 111.

impaled on one of the sharp points it may be held in the fork. (Figs. 2, 3, 4, Pl. XLII.) The fish arrows have long, slender, notched iron points roughly resembling a square or cylindrical file. The points are from 4 to 8 inches in length. Sometimes they are provided with small barbs. (Figs. 5, 6, 7, Pl. XLII.)

The Negritos of Zambales are not so expert in the use of bows and arrows as their daily use of these weapons would seem to indicate. They seldom miss the larger animals at close range, but are not so lucky in shooting at small objects. I have noticed that they shoot more accurately upward into the trees than horizontally. For instance, a boy of 10 would repeatedly shoot mangoes out of a tree, but when I posted a mark at 30 yards and offered a prize for the best shot no one could hit it.

The Negritos usually hunt in bands, and, because they have little else to do and can go out and kill a deer almost any time, they do not resort much to the use of traps. A long line of thirty men winding down the path from their village, all armed with bows twice their height and a handful of arrows, their naked bodies gleaming in the early morning sun, presents a truly novel sight. They have with them five or six half-starved dogs. When the haunts of the deer are reached, a big gully cutting through the level table-land, thick with cane and underbrush through which a tiny stream finds its way, half a dozen boys plunge into the depths with the dogs and the rest walk along either side or lie in wait at runs. The Negritos in the thicket yell continually and beat the brush, but the dogs are silent until game is scented. Then the cries of the runners are redoubled and the din warns those lying in wait to be alert. Presently from one of the many runs leading out of the ravine a deer appears and, if there happens to be a Negrito on the spot, gets an arrow. But, unless vitally wounded, on he goes followed by the dogs, which never give up the chase of a wounded deer. When a deer is killed it is hung up in a tree and the hunt proceeds.

Sometimes the thick canebrakes along the river beds are beaten up in this way, or the lightly timbered mountain ravines; for the Negrito knows that the deer lie in a cool, sheltered place in the daytime and come forth to browse only at night. On clear, moonlight nights they sometimes attempt to stalk the deer while grazing in the open field, but are not usually successful. Quite often in the chase a long rope net, resembling a fish net but much coarser and stronger, is placed in advance of the beating party in some good position where the deer is likely to run if started up. These are absolutely sure to hold the deer should the unfortunate animal run into them—a thing which does not happen often.

The Negritos are tireless in the chase. They will hunt all day without eating, unless they happen to run across some wild fruit. Women

frequently take part, especially if dogs are scarce, and they run through the brush yelping to imitate the dogs. But they never carry or use the bows and arrows. This seems to be the especial privilege of the men. Boys from an early age are accustomed to their use and always take part in the hunt, sometimes performing active service with their little bows, but girls never touch them. Not infrequently the runners in the brush emerge carrying wild pigs which they have scared up and killed, and if, by chance, a big snake is encountered, that ends the hunt, for the capture of a python is an event. The snake is killed and carried in triumph to the village, where it furnishes a feast to all the inhabitants.

This sketch of hunting would not be complete without mention of a necessary feature of every successful hunt—the division of the spoils. When the hunt is ended the game is carried back to the village before the division is made, provided the hunters are all from the same place. If two or more villages have hunted together the game is divided in the field. A bed of green rushes or cane is made on which the animal is placed and skinned. This done, the head man of the party, or the most important man present, takes a small part of the entrails or heart, cuts it into fine bits and scatters the pieces in all directions, at the same time chanting in a monotone a few words which mean "Spirits, we thank you for this successful hunt. Here is your share of the spoils." This is done to feed and appease the spirits which the Negritos believe inhabit all places, and the ceremony is never neglected. Then the cutting up and division of the body of the animal takes place. The head and breast go to the man who first wounded the deer, and, if the shot was fatal, he also receives the backbone—this always goes to the man who fired the fatal shot. One hind quarter goes to the owner of the dog which scared up the deer, and the rest is divided as evenly as possible among the other hunters. Every part is utilized. The Negritos waste nothing that could possibly serve as food. The two hunts I accompanied were conducted in the manner I have related, and I was assured that this was the invariable procedure.

The mountain streams of the Negrito's habitat do not furnish many fish, but the Negrito labors assiduously to catch what he can. In the larger streams he principally employs, after the manner of the Christianized natives, the bamboo weir through which the water can pass but the fish can not. In the small streams he builds dams of stones which he covers with banana leaves. Then with bow and arrow he shoots the fish in the clear pool thus formed. Not infrequently the entire course of a creek will be changed. A dam is first made below in order to stop the passage of the fish, and after a time the stream is dammed at some point above in such a way as to change the current. Then, as the water slowly runs out of the part thus cut off, any fish remaining are easily caught.

CHAPTER V

AMUSEMENTS

GAMES

A gambling game was the only thing observed among the Negritos of Zambales which had the slightest resemblance to a game. Even the children, who are playful enough at times, find other means of amusing themselves than by playing a systematic game recognized as such and having a distinct name. However, they take up the business of life, the quest for food, at too early an age to allow time to hang heavy, and hence never feel the need of games. Probably the fascination of bow and arrow and the desire to kill something furnish diversion enough for the boys, and the girls, so far as I could see, never play at all.

The game of dice, called "sa'-ro," is universal. Instead of the familiar dots the marks on the small wooden cubes are incised lines made with a knife. These lines follow no set pattern. One pair of

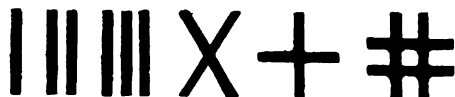


FIG. 2.—Marks on dice used by Negritos.

dice which I observed were marked as shown in fig. 2. The player has five chances, and if he can pair the dice one time out of five he wins, otherwise he loses. Only small objects, such as camotes, rough-made cigars, or tobacco leaves, are so wagered. A peculiar feature of the game is the manner in which the dice are thrown. The movement of the arm is an inward sweep, which is continued after the dice leave the hand, until the hand strikes the breast a resounding whack; at the same time the player utters a sharp cry much after the manner of the familiar negro "crap shooter." The Negritos do not know where they got the game, but say that it has been handed down by their ancestors. It might be thought that the presence of a negro regiment in the province has had something to do with it, but I was assured by a number of Filipinos who have long been familiar with the customs of the Negritos that they have had this game from the first acquaintance of the Filipinos with them.

MUSIC

In their love for music and their skill in dancing Negritos betray other striking Negroid characteristics. Their music is still of the most primitive type, and their instruments are crude. But if their notes are few no fault can be found with the rhythm, the chief requisite for an accompaniment to a dance. Their instruments are various. The simple jew's-harp cut from a piece of bamboo and the four-holed flutes (called "ban'-sic") made of mountain cane (figs. 6, 7, Pl. XLVI) are very common but do not rise to the dignity of dance instruments. Rarely a bronze gong (fig. 1, Pl. XLVI), probably of Chinese make, has made its way into Negrito hands and is highly prized, but these are not numerous—in fact, none was seen in the northern region, but in southern Zambales and Bataan they are occasionally used in dances. The most common instrument is the bamboo violin. (Fig. 2, Pl. XLVI.) It is easy to make, for the materials are ready at hand. A section of bamboo with a joint at each end and a couple of holes cut in one side furnishes the body. A rude neck with pegs is fastened to one end and three abacá strings of different sizes are attached. Then with a small bow of abacá fiber the instrument is ready for use. No attempt was made to write down the music which was evolved from this instrument. It consisted merely in the constant repetition of four notes, the only variation being an occasional change of key, but it was performed in excellent time.

Rude guitars are occasionally found among the Negritos. They are made of two pieces of wood; one is hollowed out and has a neck carved at one end, and a flat piece is glued to this with gum. These instruments have six strings. If a string breaks or becomes useless it is only a question of cutting down a banana stalk and stripping it for a new one. These guitars and violins are by no means common, though nearly every village possesses one. The ability to play is regarded as an accomplishment. A stringed instrument still more primitive is made from a single section of bamboo, from which two or three fine strips of outer bark are split away in the center but are still attached at the ends. These strips are of different lengths and are held apart from the body and made tight with little wedges. (Figs. 4, 5, Pl. XLVI.) Another instrument is made by stretching fiber strings over bamboo tubes, different tensions producing different tones. (Figs. 8, 9, Pl. XLVI.) These simpler instruments are the product of the Negrito's own brain, but they have probably borrowed the idea of stringed violins and guitars from the Christianized natives.

The Negritos of the entire territory have but two songs, at least so they affirmed, and two were all I heard. Strange as it may seem, at least one of these is found at both the extreme ends of the region. An extended acquaintance with them might, and probably would, reveal

more songs, but they are reluctant to sing before white men. One of these songs, called "du-nu-ra," is a kind of love song. Owing to the extreme embarrassment of the performer I was able to hear it only by going into my tent where I could not see the singer. It consisted of a great many verses—was interminable, in fact.

The second of the two songs was called "tal-bun'." This is sung on festive occasions, especially when visitors come. The words are improvised to suit the occasion, but the tune and the manner of rendering never vary.

Five or six men, each holding with one hand the flowing end of the breechcloth of the one in front or with the hand on his shoulder and the other hand shading the mouth, walk slowly about a circle in a crouching posture, their eyes always cast on the ground. Presently the leader strikes a note, which he holds as long as possible and which the others take up as soon as he has sounded it. This is kept up a few minutes, different tones being so sounded and drawn out as long as the performers have breath. The movement becomes more rapid until it is nearly a run, when the performers stop abruptly, back a few steps, and proceed as before. After they have about exhausted the gamut of long-drawn "O's" they sing the words, usually a plea for some favor or gift, being first sung by the leader and repeated after him by the chorus. I did not get the native words of the song I heard, but it was translated to me as follows:

We are singing to the American to show him what we can do; perhaps if we sing well he will give us some rice or some cloth.

The words are repeated over and over, with only the variation of raising or lowering the tone. At intervals all the performers stop and yell at the top of their voices. Sometimes a person on the outside of the circle will take up the strain on a long-held note of the singers. This song also serves for festive occasions, such as weddings. (See Pl. XLVII.)

DANCING

Dancing forms the chief amusement of the Negritos and allows an outlet for their naturally exuberant spirits. I had no more than set up camp near the first rancharia I visited than I was entertained by dancing. Among the Negritos helping me was one with an old violin, and as soon as a place was cleared of brush and the tent was up he struck up a tune. Whereupon two or three youngsters jumped out and performed a good imitation of a buck-and-wing dance. However, dancing is not generally indulged in by everybody, but two or three in every rancharia are especially adept at it. Aside from the general dances, called "ta-li'-pi," which consist of a series of heel-and-toe movements in excellent time to the music of violin or guitar, and

which are performed on any occasion such as the setting up of my tent, there are several mimetic dances having a special character or meaning. Such are the potato dance, the bee dance, the torture dance, the lover's dance, and the duel dance. (See Pls. XLVIII, XLIX.)

THE POTATO DANCE, OR PIÑA CAMOTE

Only one person takes part in the potato dance. At first the performer leaps into the open space and dances around in a circle, clapping his hands as if warming up, the usual preliminary to all the dances. Presently in pantomime he finds a potato patch, and goes through the various motions of digging the potatoes, putting them in a sack, and throwing the sack over his shoulder, all the time keeping close watch to prevent his being caught in the act of stealing. He comes to the brush fence which surrounds every "cañgin," draws his bolo, cuts his way through, and proceeds until he comes to a river. This is significant as showing that the potato patch he is robbing does not belong to anyone in his own village but is across a river which he must pass on his way home. He sounds for deep water with a stick. It is too deep, and he tries another place. Here he loses his footing, drops his sack, and the swift current carries it beyond his reach. While going through the various motions necessary to depict these actions the movement of the dance is kept up, the body bent forward in a crouching position, the feet leaving the ground alternately in rapid motion but never out of time with the music. Such agility and tirelessness one could scarcely find anywhere else.

THE BEE DANCE, OR PIÑA PA-NI-LAN

This dance is also performed by one person and in a similar manner as the potato dance. A piece of cloth tied to a pole serves as a nest of bees. The performer dances around the circle several times; presently he spies the nest and approaches slowly, shading his eyes for a better view. Having satisfied himself that he has really made a find, he lights a smudge, goes through the motion of climbing the tree, and in holding the smudge under the nest he is stung several times and has to retreat. This is repeated until all the bees are smoked out and the honey is gathered. Then comes a feast in which, drunk with honey, he becomes hilarious.

THE TORTURE DANCE

This dance, which commemorates the capture of an enemy, is performed in much the same manner as the "talbun" except that there is no song connected with it. The captive is bound to a stake in the center and a dozen men circle slowly around him, in the same manner as already described, one hand over the mouth and uttering long-drawn notes.

The movement becomes faster and faster until it consists wholly of frenzied leaps, and the performers, worked up to the proper pitch, draw their bolos, close in on their victim, and slash him to pieces.

When executed at night in the light of a bonfire this dance is most grotesque and terrible. The naked black bodies, gleaming in the fire, the blood-curdling yells, and the demoniacal figures of the howling, leaping dancers, remind one of the Indian war dances.

The dance seems to be a relic of more barbarous days when the Negritos were, in truth, savages. They say that they never kill a prisoner in this manner now, but that when they find it necessary to put a man to death they do it in the quickest manner possible with a single blow of the knife. (See Pl. L.)

THE LOVERS' DANCE

As might be expected, a man and a woman take part in the lovers' dance. The women are not such energetic and tireless dancers as the men, and in the lovers' dance the woman, although keeping her feet moving in time to the music, performs in an indolent, passive manner, and does not move from the spot where she begins. But the man circles about her, casting amorous glances, now coming up quite close, and then backing away again, and at times clapping his hands and going through all sorts of evolutions as if to attract the woman. This sort of thing is kept up until one or both are tired.

THE DUEL DANCE

The duel dance is by far the most realistic and interesting of any of the Negrito dances. As the name suggests, the dance is performed by two men, warriors, armed with bows and arrows and bolos. An oblong space about 8 feet in width and 15 feet long serves as an arena for the imaginary conflict. After the musician has got well into his tune the performers jump into either end of the space with a whoop and a flourish of weapons, and go through the characteristic Negrito heel-and-toe movement, all the time casting looks of malignant hate at each other but each keeping well to his end of the ring. Then they advance slowly toward each other, swinging the drawn bow and arrow into play as if to shoot, then, apparently changing their minds or the opportunity not being good for a death shot, they withdraw again to the far ends of the ring. Advancing once more each one throws the drawn bow and arrow upward, then toward the ground, calling heaven and earth to witness his vow to kill the other. Presently one gets a favorable opportunity, his bowstring twangs, and his opponent falls to the ground. The victor utters a cry of triumph, dances up to the body of his fallen foe, and cuts off the head with his bolo. He beckons and cries out to the relatives of the dead man to come and avenge the deed. Nobody

appearing, he bears aloft the head of the enemy, shouting exultingly and triumphantly as if to taunt them to respond. Still no one comes. Then after waiting and listening for a time he replaces the head with the trunk and covers the body over with leaves and dirt. This ends the dance. Ordinarily it requires fifteen minutes for the full performance. During this time the one who by previous arrangement was to be the victor never for a single instant pauses or loses step.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL SOCIAL LIFE

THE CHILD

I was unable to learn anything in support of Montano's statement that immediately after the birth of a child the mother rushes to a river with it and plunges into the cold water.¹ On the contrary, the child is not washed at all until it is several days old, and the mother does not go to the stream until at least two days have elapsed. It is customary to bury the placenta. The birth of a child is not made the occasion of any special festivity. The naming is usually done on the day of birth, but it may be done any time within a few days. It is not common for the parents of the child to do the naming, though they may do so, but some of the old people of the tribe generally gather and select the name. Names of trees, objects, animals, places near which the child was born, or of certain qualities and acts or deeds all furnish material from which to select. For instance, if a child is born under a guijo tree he may be called "Guijo;" a monkey may be playing in the tree and the child will be named "Barac" (monkey); or if the birth was during a heavy rain the child may be called "Layos" (flood). Usually the most striking object near at hand is selected. Like most primitive peoples, the Negritos use only one name. If the child is sickly or cries very much, the name is changed, because the Negritos believe that the spirit inhabiting the place where the child was born is displeased at the choice of the name and takes this means of showing its displeasure, and that if the name is not changed the child will soon die.

Apparently no distinction is made between the names for the two sexes. The child may be given the name of the father, to whose name the word "pan," meaning elder, is prefixed for the sake of distinction. For instance, if a man named Manya should have either a son or a daughter the child might be called Manya, and the father would henceforth be known as Pan-Manya. This practice is very common, and when names like Pan-Benandoc, Pan-Turico, and Pan-Palaquan' are

¹ Montano, *Mission aux Philippines*, p. 316.

arranged, a feast and dancing usually follow, in which all the relatives of both families participate, and after this the couple go to their own house. There may be two feasts on succeeding days, one given by the parents of the boy to the relatives of the girl, and vice versa. If only one feast is given both families contribute equally in the matter of food. No single act can be pointed out as constituting a ceremony. In other places, especially at Cabayan and Aglao, near Santa Fé, an exchange of food between the pair is a necessary part of the performance.

A mat is placed on the ground, and in the center is set a dish of cooked rice or some other food. The pair seat themselves on either side of the dish, facing each other, while all the relatives and spectators crowd around. The man takes a small piece of the food and places it in the mouth of the girl, and she does the same for the man. At this happy conclusion of the affair all the people around give a great shout. Sometimes the girl leaps to her feet and runs away pursued by her husband, who calls after her to stop. This she does after a little, and the two return together; or they may take a bamboo tube used for carrying water and set off to the river to bring water for the others to drink, thus performing in unison the first act of labor of their married life.

I was fortunate enough to witness a ceremony where the exchange of food was the important feature. In this instance a piece of brown bread which I was about to throw away served as the wedding cake. It seems that the girl had been contracted by her parents when very young to a man old enough to be her father, and when the time for the wedding arrived she refused to have anything to do with it. For two years she had resisted entreaties and threats, displaying more force of will than one would expect from a Negrito girl of 15. The man had paid a large price for her—200 pesos, he said—and the girl's parents did not have it to return to him. It was suggested that if we made her some presents it might induce her to yield. She was presented with enough cloth for two or three camisas and sayas, a mirror, and a string of beads, and she finally gave an unwilling assent to the entreaties of her relatives, and the ceremony was performed in the manner already described. At the conclusion a yell went up from the assembly, and I, at the request of the capitán, fired three pistol shots into the air. Everybody seemed satisfied except the poor girl, who still wept furtively over her new treasures. Some days later, however, when I saw her she appeared to be reconciled to her fate, and was happy in the possession of more valuables than any other woman in the rancheria.

HEAD CEREMONY

In the southern rancherias a bamboo platform is erected 20 or 30 feet high, with a ladder leading up to it from the ground. On the day fixed for the marriage the groom, accompanied by his parents, goes



Photo by Diamond.

PLATE XXXV. NEGRITO GIRLS OF ZAMBALES, ONE WEARING NECKLACE OF DRIED BERRIES.

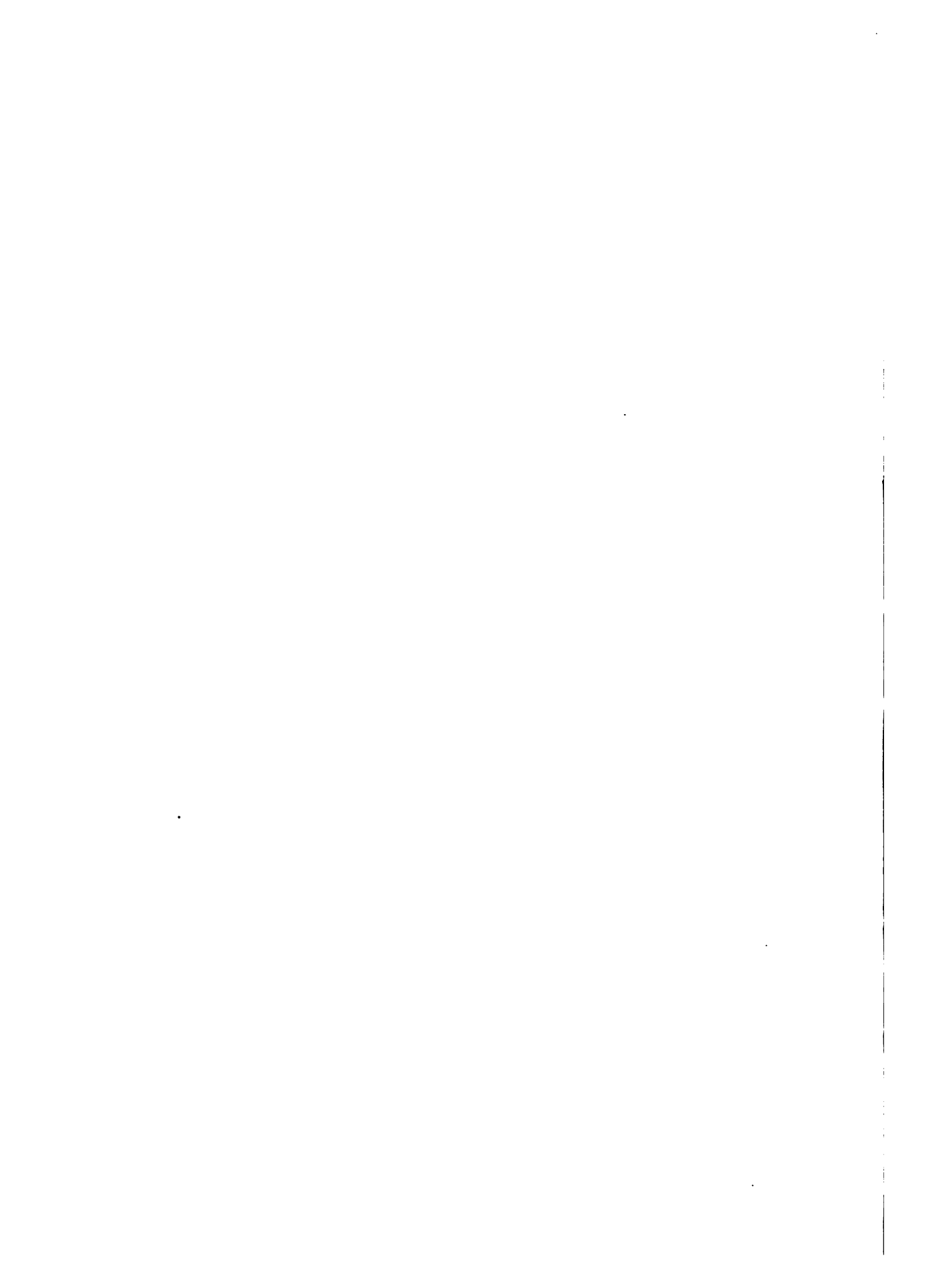




Photo by Worcester.

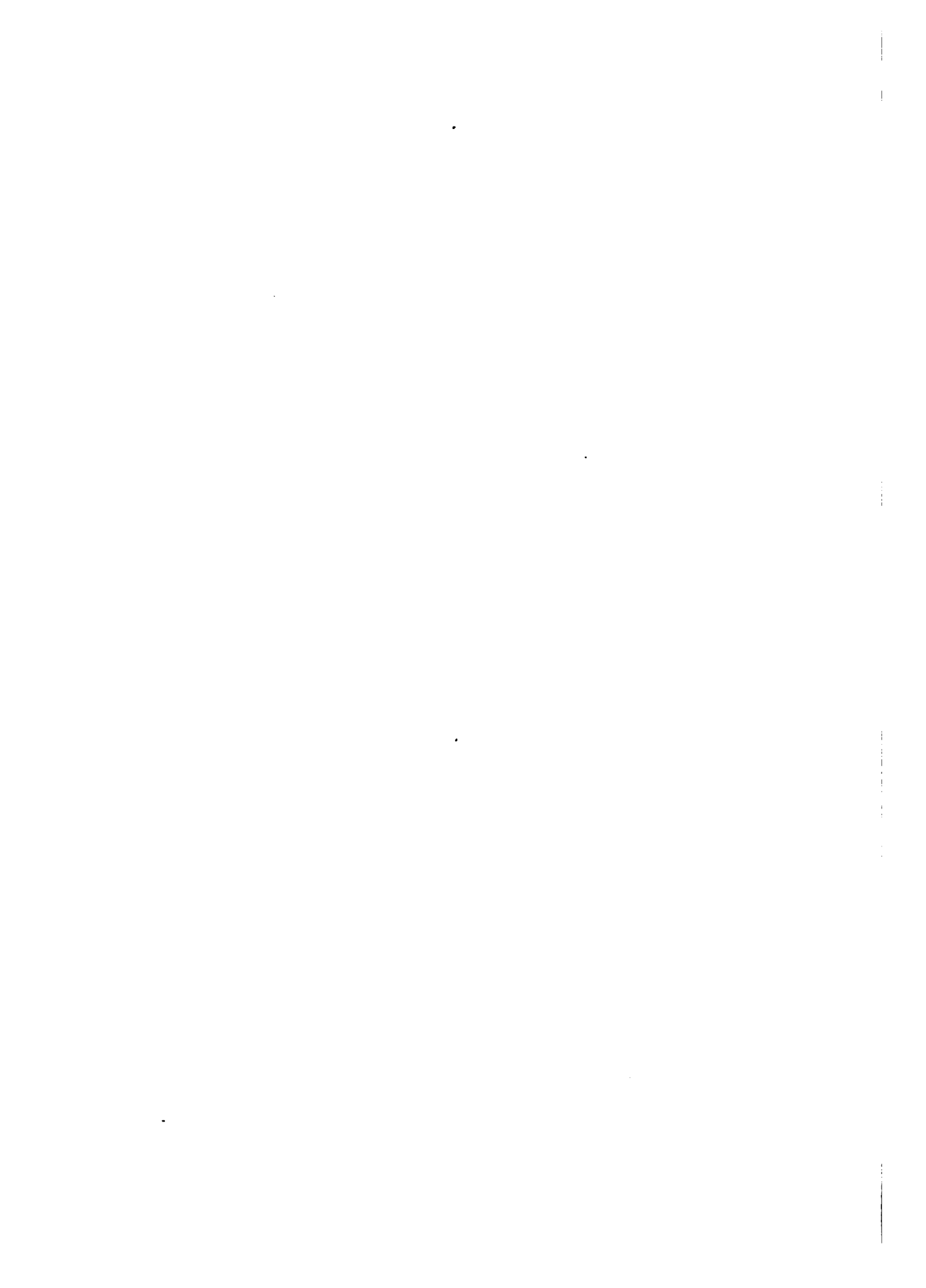
PLATE XXXVIII. NEGRITO MAN, WIFE, AND HUT, BATAAN.





Photo by Worcester.

PLATE XLI. NEGRITO MEN OF BATAAN MAKING FIRE WITH BAMBOO.



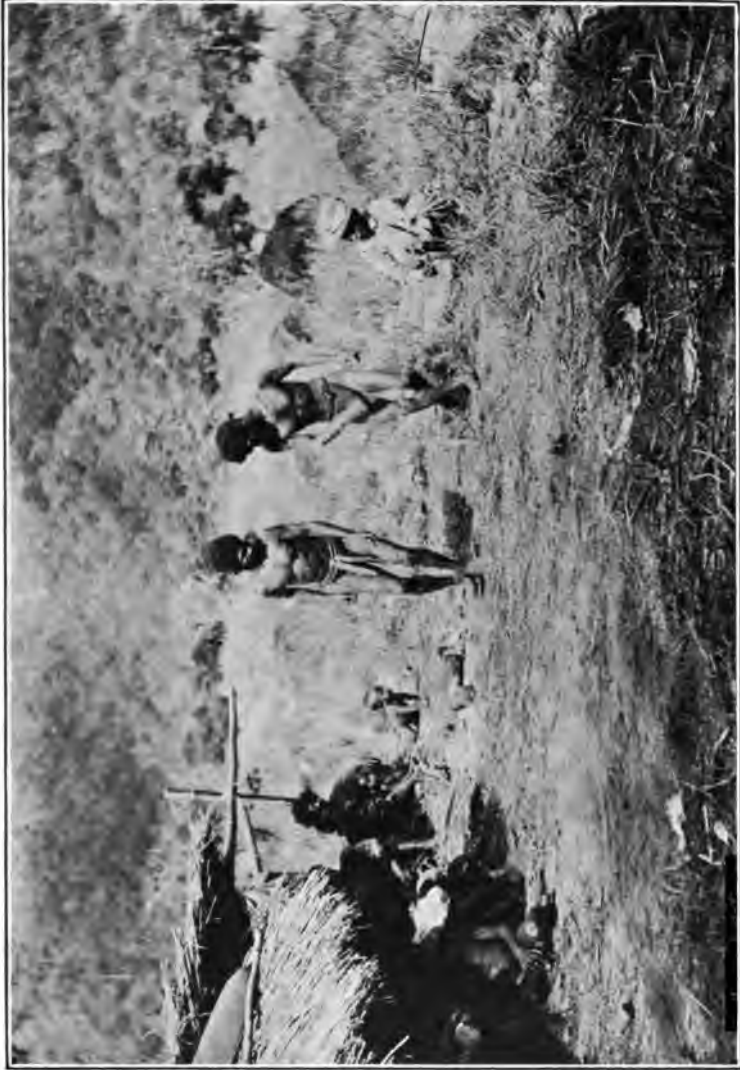
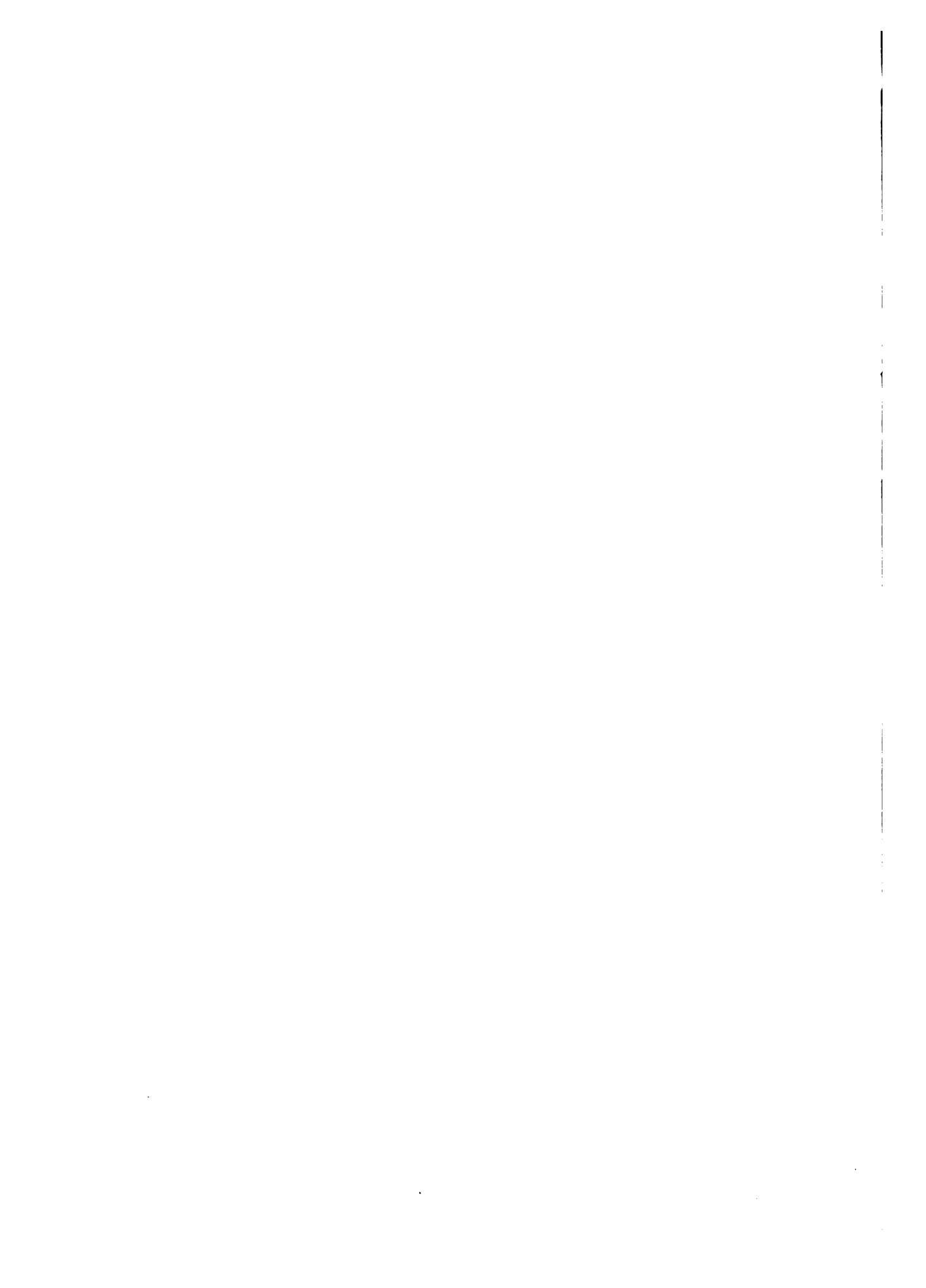


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE XLVIII. NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES DANCING.



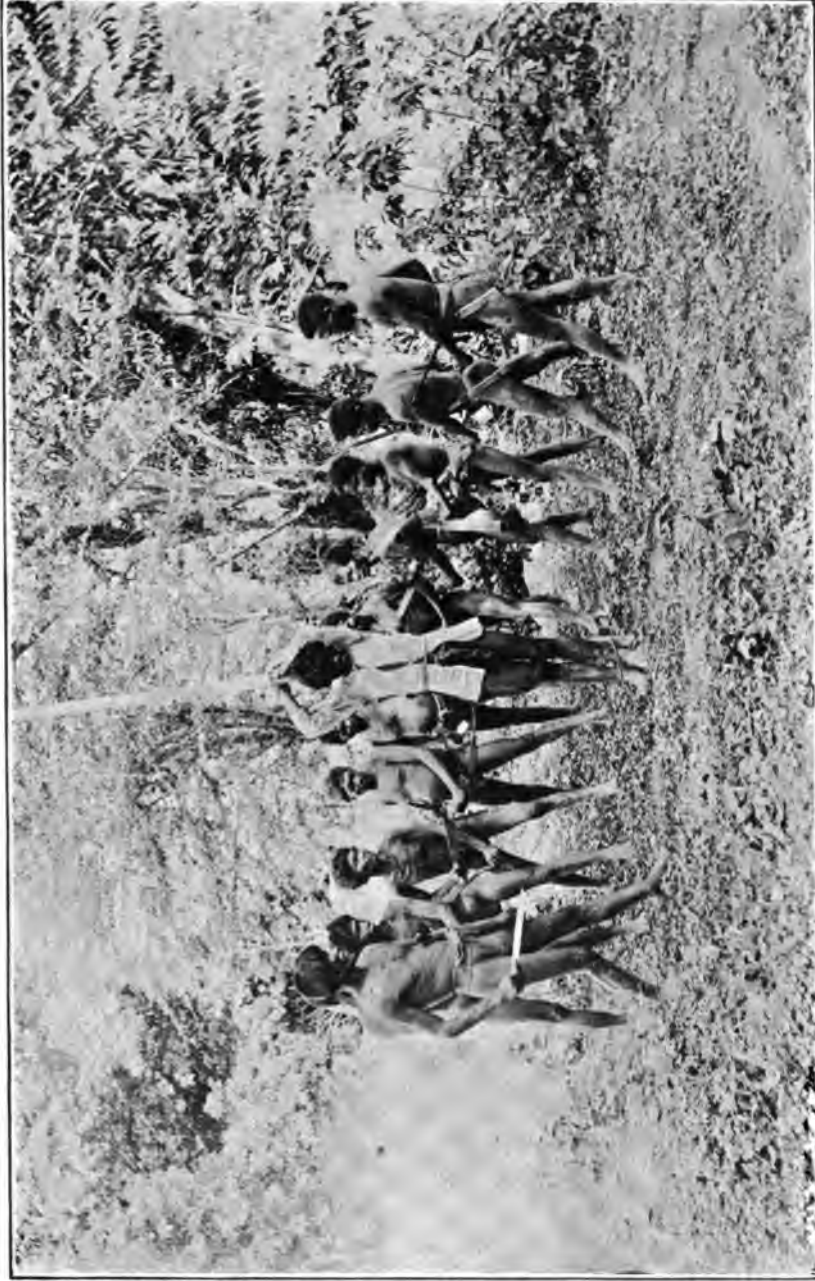
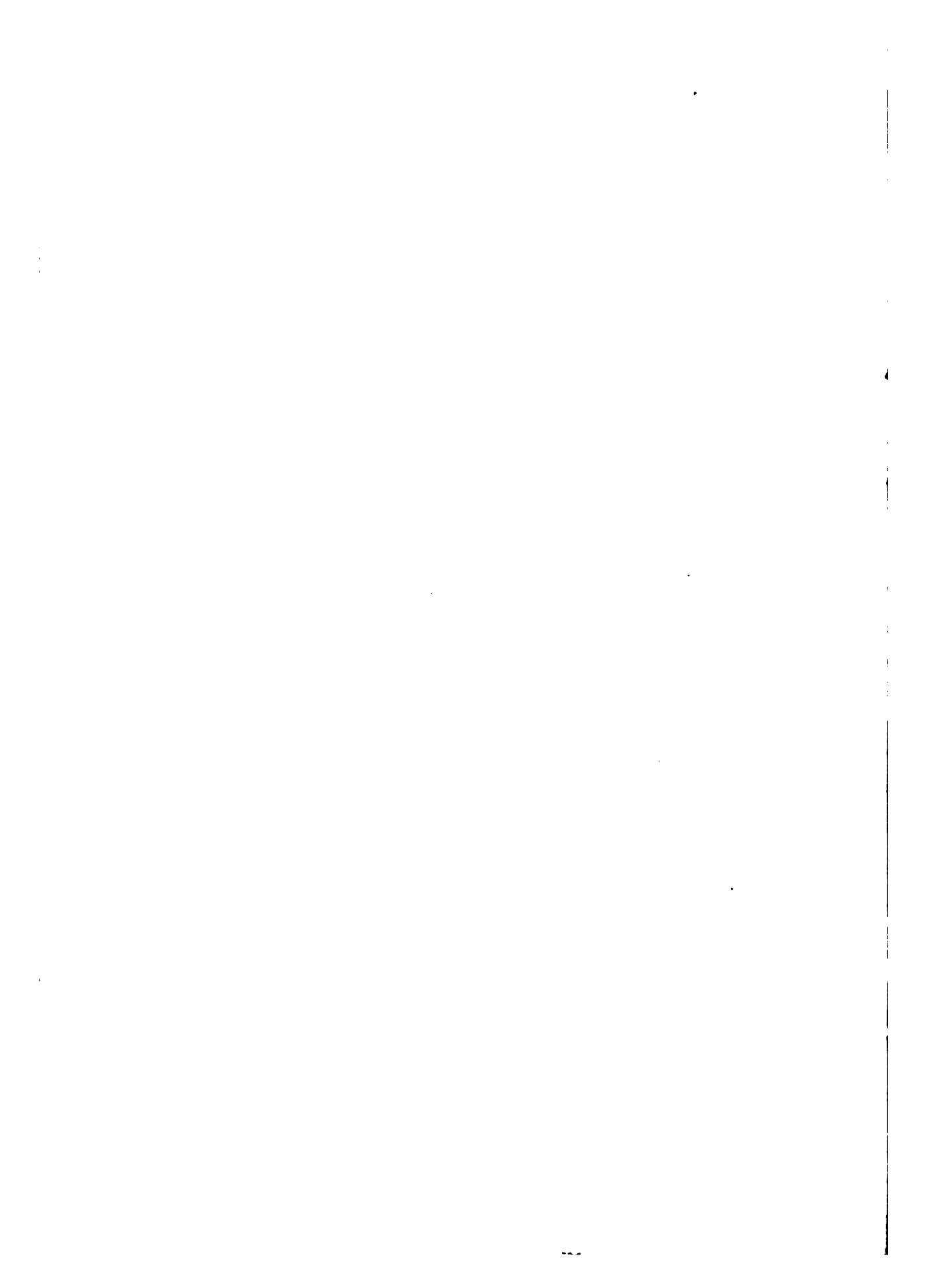


Photo by Diamond.

PLATE L. NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES DANCING THE "TORTURE DANCE."



to the house of the bride and asks for her. They are usually told that she has gone away, but some small gifts are sufficient to have her produced, and the whole party proceeds to the place of marriage. Here bride and groom mount the ladder—some accounts say the bride is carried up by her prospective father-in-law.

An old man of the tribe, and, if the platform be large enough, also the parents of the pair, go up and squat down in the rear. The bride and bridegroom also squat down facing each other, and the old man comes forward and knocks their heads together. I was told at Subig that only the bride and groom mount the platform and seat themselves for a talk, the relatives remaining below facing each other with drawn weapons. If by any chance the pair can not agree, it means a fight. But if they do agree, they descend from the platform and the head bumping completes the ceremony. This is an extremely unlikely story, probably the product of Malayan imagination.

"LEPUT," OR HOME COMING

After the ceremony has been performed the newly wedded pair return to the home of the girl's parents where they remain a few days. When the husband possesses enough gifts for his bride to fulfill the requirements of the leput that important event takes place.

Although the writer heard repeated accounts of this ceremony in southern Zambales he never had an opportunity to witness it. However, the leput is described as follows by Mr. C. J. Cooke, who saw it in Bataan:¹

The bride had already left the home of her mother and formed the center of a group passing through a grove of heavy timber with very little underbrush. The evening sun cast strange shadows on the weird procession as it moved snake-like along the narrow path.

Occasionally there would be short stops, when the bride would squat to receive some bribes or tokens from her husband, his relatives, or friends. Nor would she move until she received something each time she elected to stop.

Clad in a bright-red breechcloth and extra-high silk hat was the capitán who headed the procession. He carried a silver-headed cane. Next in order came some of the elders of both sexes. Then came the bride attended by four women and closely followed by her husband, who also had a like number of attendants. Last came the main body, all walking in single file. Two musicians were continually executing a running dance from one end of the procession to the other and always keeping time with their crude drums or copper gongs, the noise of which could be heard for miles around. Whenever they passed the bride they would hold the instruments high in the air, leaping and gyrating at their best. When the bride would squat the dancers would even increase their efforts, running a little way to the front and returning to the bride as if endeavoring to induce her to proceed. It did not avail, for she would not move till she received some trinket.

In crossing streams or other obstacles the bride was carried by her father-in-law; the bridegroom was carried by one of his attendants. Presently they

¹ MS. Coll. of The Ethnological Survey.

arrived at a critical spot. This is the place where many a man has to let his wife return to her mother; for here it is the bride wants to see how many presents are coming to her. If satisfied, she goes on. In this case there was a shortage, and everybody became excited. The husband huddled to the side of his bride and looked into her face with a very pitiful expression, as if pleading with her to continue. But she was firm. In a few minutes several people formed a circle and commenced dancing in the same way as at their religious ceremony, and chanting low and solemnly an admonition to the husband's parents and friends to give presents to the bride. This was repeated several times, when there came a lull. The bride was still firm in her opinion that the amount offered was insufficient. I had supplied myself with some cheap jewelry, and a few trinkets satisfied her desires; so the "music" again started. Louder it became—wilder—resounding with a thousand echoes, and as the nude bodies of the Negritos glided at lightning speed from the glare of one torchlight to the other, with no word uttered but a continual clangor of the metal gongs, one thought that here was a dance of devils.

In due time we came to a place in the path that was bordered on either side by small strips of bamboo about 3 feet long with both points sticking in the ground, resembling croquet arches, six on either side. When the bride arrived there she squatted and her maids commenced to robe her in a new gown (à la Filipina) over the one she already had on. She then continued to another similar place and donned a new robe over those already on. This was repeated twice, when she arrived at a triumphal arch. There she donned a very gaudy dress consisting of red waist and blue skirt, with a large red handkerchief as a wedding veil.

Rejoicing in her five complete dresses, one over the other, she passed through the arch and again squatted. Meanwhile a fire was built midway between the arch and a structure specially prepared for the couple. All present except those waiting on the groom and bride joined in a dance around the fire, chanting gleefully and keeping time with hands and feet.

All at once the circle divided just in front of the arch; two persons on opposite sides joined hands overhead. The bride now stood up, immediately her father-in-law caught her in his arms, ran under the human arch, and deposited her gently in the house of his son. When the husband, from where he was squatting under the arch, saw his bride safely laid in his house his joy knew no bounds. With a yell he leaped up, swinging his unsheathed bolo over his head, and in a frenzy jumped over the fire, passed through the human arch, and with a final yell threw his arms around his wife in a long embrace.

The ceremony as above described contains many details which I did not meet with in Zambales, but the main feature, the sitting down of the bride to receive her gifts, is the same.

POLYGAMY AND DIVORCE

As might be expected among the Negritos, a man may marry as many wives as he can buy. His inability to provide the necessary things for her purchase argues against his ability to provide food for her. Hence it is only the well-to-do that can afford the luxury of more than one wife. Usually this practice is confined to the capitán or head man of the tribe, and even he seldom has more than two wives, but one case was noticed in the village of Tagiltit, where one man had seven. At Cabayan the capitán had two wives, a curly-haired one and a straight-haired one, the latter the daughter of Filipinos who had taken up

their abode with the Negritos. (See Pl. LV.) Polygamy is allowed throughout the Negrito territory. It is not uncommon for a man to marry sisters or a widow and her daughter. Marriage between blood relatives is prohibited.

Divorce is not very common with the Negritos in Zambales. There seems to be a sentiment against it. If a man is powerful enough he may divorce his wife, but if he does so for any other reason than desertion or unfaithfulness her relatives are likely to make a personal matter of it and cause trouble. A man and his wife may separate by mutual agreement and that of their families. In such a case whatever property they may have is divided equally, but the mother takes the children.

A more frequent occurrence than that, however, is the desertion of her husband by a woman who has found some one of greater attractions elsewhere, probably in another rancheria, but even these cases are rare. If it is possible to reach the offender the new husband will have to pay up, otherwise it is necessary for the woman's parents to pay back to the injured husband all that he has paid for her. But if the offender is caught and is found to be unable to pay the necessary price the penalty is death. In any event the husband's interests are guarded. He can either recover on his investment or get revenge.

BURIAL

Notwithstanding the repeated statements of travelers that Negritos bury their dead under their houses, which are then abandoned, nothing of this kind was met in Zambales, and Mr. Cooke did not see it in Bataan. He says that in the latter province the body is placed in a coffin made by hollowing out a tree, and is buried in some high spot, but there is no regular burying ground. A rude shed and a fence are built to protect the grave.

In Zambales any spot may be selected. The body is wrapped up in a mat and buried at a depth of 3 or 4 feet to protect it from dogs and wild boars. With their few tools such interment constitutes an arduous labor.

I was unable to learn of any special ceremony performed at a burial. Montano says they have one, and Mr. Cooke states that all the relatives of the deceased kneel in a circle around the coffin and sing a mournful monotone. The Negritos of Zambales repeatedly affirmed that they had no burial ceremony.

MORALS

I believe that many of the vices of the Negrito are due to contact with the Malayan to whom he is, at least in point of truthfulness, honesty, and temperance, far superior. It is rare that he will tell a lie unless he thinks he will be greatly benefited by it, and he seems not to indulge

in purposeless lying, as so often do his more civilized neighbors. So far as my acquaintance with him goes, I never detected an untruth except one arising from errors of judgment.

In their dealings with each other there seldom occur disputes among the Negritos, which in itself is an evidence of their natural honesty. With Filipinos, they are inclined to accept and respect the opinions of their more knowing, if less honest, patrons, and take what is offered for their produce with little protest. It is to be feared, however, that as they realize the duplicity of the Filipinos they themselves may begin to practice it.

Alcoholism is unknown among them, but they drink willingly of the native drinks, "tuba" and "anisado," whenever it is offered them. They do not make these beverages. Nowhere does it seem to have gotten a hold on them, and there are no drunkards.

The practice of smoking is followed by Negritos of both sexes, old and young, although they are not such inveterate smokers as are the Filipinos. The custom prevails of smoking roughly made cigars of tobacco leaves tied up with a grass string, always with the lighted end in the mouth. After smoking a few whiffs, the cigar is allowed to go out, and the stump is tucked away in the breechcloth or behind the ear for future use. One of these stumps may be seen somewhere about a Negrito at almost any time. Pipes are never used.

Very few Negritos chew betel nut, and their teeth, although sharpened as they are, offer a pleasing contrast to the betel-stained teeth of the average Filipino.

While one can not speak authoritatively in regard to relation of the sexes without a long and close study of their customs, yet all the evidence at hand goes to show that the Negritos as a race are virtuous, especially when compared with the Christianized natives. Their statement that death is their penalty for adultery is generally accepted as true, and probably is, with some modifications. Montano mentions it twice,¹ and he asserts further in regard to the Negritos of Bataan that "sexual relations outside of marriage are exceedingly rare. A young girl suspected of it must forever renounce the hope of finding a husband."

In Zambales the Negritos continually assert that adultery is punishable by death, but closer questioning usually brought out the fact that the offenders could buy off if they possessed the means. Montano makes the statement that in case of adultery it is the injured husband who executes the death sentence. However, the injured husband is satisfied if he recovers what he paid for his wife in the beginning. In case of a daughter, the father exacts the payment, and only in case he is destitute is it likely to go hard with the offender.

It has been asserted also that theft is punishable by death. The

¹ *Voyage aux Philippines*, p. 71; *Mission aux Philippines*, p. 315.

Negritos say that if a man is caught stealing and can not pay the injured person whatever he considers the value of the stolen article and the fine that is assessed against him, he will be put to death. But, as a matter of fact, it is never done. He is given his time in which to pay his fine or someone else may pay it; and in the latter case the offender becomes a sort of slave and works for his benefactor.

Murder is punishable by death. The victim is executed in the manner already described in the torture dance. But murder is so rare as to be almost unknown. The disposition of the Negrito is peaceable and seldom leads him into trouble.

Cooke¹ states that as a punishment for lighter offenses the Negritos of Bataan use an instrument, called "con-de-mán," which is simply a split stick sprung on the neck from six to twenty hours, according to the degree of the crime, and which is said to be very painful. Nothing like this was seen in Zambales.

SLAVERY

Notwithstanding the statements of Montano that the Negritos have no slaves and know nothing of slavery, the reverse is true, in Zambales at least; so say the Negritos and also the Filipinos who have spent several years among them. The word "a-li'-pun" is used among them to express such social condition. As has been stated, a man caught stealing may become a slave, as also may a person captured from another rancharia, a child left without support, a person under death sentence, or a debtor. It was also stated that if a man committed a crime and escaped a relative could be seized as a slave. It will take a long acquaintance with the Negritos and an intimate knowledge of their customs to get at the truth of these statements.

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

The countenance of the average Negrito is not dull and passive, as might reasonably be expected, but is fairly bright and keen, more so than the average Malayan countenance. The Negrito also has a look of good nature—a look usually lacking in the Malayan. His knowledge of things other than those pertaining to his environment is, of course, extremely limited, but he is possessed of an intellect that is capable of growth under proper conditions. He always manifests the most lively interest in things which he does not understand, and he tries to assign causes for them.

Natural phenomena he is unable to explain. When the sun sets it goes down behind a precipice so far off that he could not walk to it, but he does not know how it gets back to the east. Rain comes from the clouds, but he does not know how it got there except that thunder and lightning bring it. These things are incomprehensible to him and

¹ MS. Coll. of The Ethnological Survey.

he has apparently invented no stories concerning them. While thunder and lightning are good because they bring rain, yet if they are exceedingly violent he becomes afraid and tries to stop them by burning deer's bones, which, he says, are always efficacious.

The mathematical knowledge of the Negritos is naturally small. They count on their fingers and toes, beginning always with the thumb and great toe. If the things they are counting are more than twenty they go through the process again, but never repeat the fingers without first counting the toes. To add they use rice or small stones. They have no weights or measures except those of the civilized natives, but usually compare things to be measured with some known object. Distance is estimated by the time taken to walk it, but they have no conception of hours. It may take from sunrise until the sun is directly overhead to go from a certain rancheria to another, but if asked the number of hours the Negrito is as likely to say three or eight as six. They have no division of time by weeks or months, but have periods corresponding to the phases of the moon, to which they give names. The new moon is called "bay'-un bu'-an," the full moon "da-a'-na bu'-an," and the waning moon "may-a'-mo-a bu'-an." They determine years by the planting or harvesting season. Yet no record of years is kept, and memory seldom goes back beyond the last season. Hence the Negritos have no idea of age. They know that they are old enough to have children or grandchildren, and that is as far as their knowledge of age goes. To count days ahead they tie knots in a string of bejuco and each day cut off one knot.

In regard to units of value they are familiar with the peso and other coins of the Philippines and have vague ideas as to their value. But one meets persistently the word "tael" in their estimate of the value of things. A tael is 5 pesos. If asked how much he paid for his wife a man may say "luampo tael." Where they got this Chinese term I do not attempt to say, unless it points to very remote commercial relations with the Chinese, a thing which seems incredible.¹

The Negritos have developed to a high degree a sense of the dramatic, and they can relate a tale graphically, becoming so interested in their account as to seem to forget their surroundings. For instance, a head man was giving me one night an account of their marriage ceremony. He went through all the motions necessary to depict various actions, talking faster and louder as if warming up to his theme, his eyes sparkling and his face and manner eager.

They are much like children in their curiosity to see the white man's belongings, and are as greatly pleased with the gift of a trinket. Their expressions and actions on beholding themselves in a mirror for the

¹ In the footnote on page 29 is given an extract from Careri's *Voyages*, in which the following occurs: "True it is, that by means of the heathen Chinese who deal with them in the mountains, some deformed statues have been found in their huts."

first time are extremely ludicrous. One man who had a goatee gazed at it and stroked it with feelings of pride and admiration not unmixed with awe.

SUPERSTITIONS

It will also take a close acquaintance to learn much of the superstitious beliefs of the Negritos. Some hints have already been given in regard to feeding the spirits after a hunt and reasons for changing names of children. Other superstitions were mentioned, as the wearing of bracelets and leglets of wild boar's skin and the burning of deer's bones to scare away thunder.

The basis of all the superstitious beliefs of the Negritos, what might else be termed their religion, is the constant presence of the spirits of the dead near where they lived when alive. All places are inhabited by the spirits. All adverse circumstances, sickness, failure of crops, unsuccessful hunts, are attributed to them. So long as things go well the spirits are not so much considered. There seems to be no particular worship or offerings to gain the good will of the spirits, other than the feeding already noted, except in one particular. On the Tarlac trail between O'Donnell (Tarlac Province) and Botolan (Zambales Province) there is a huge black boulder which the Negritos believe to be the home of one powerful spirit. So far as I could learn, the belief is that the spirits of all who die enter this one spirit or "anito" who has its abiding place in this rock. However that may be, no Negrito, and in fact no Christianized native of Zambales or Tarlac, ever passes this rock without leaving a banana, camote, or some other article of food. If they do, bad luck or accident is sure to attend the trip.

Señor Potenciano Lesaca, the present governor of Zambales, when quite young, once passed the rock and for amusement—and greatly to the horror of the Negritos with him—spurned it by kicking it with his foot and eating part of a banana and throwing the rest in the opposite direction. The Negritos were much concerned and said that something would happen to him. Sure enough, before he had gone far he got an arrow through both legs from savage Negritos along the trail who could have known nothing of the occurrence. Of course this only strengthened the belief. There is nothing unusual about the shape of the stone. It is merely a large, round boulder.

Disease is usually considered a punishment for wrongdoing, the more serious diseases coming from the supreme anito, the lesser ones from the lesser anitos. If smallpox visits a rancheria it is because someone has cut down a tree or killed an animal belonging to a spirit which has invoked the aid of the supreme spirit in inflicting a more severe punishment than it can do alone.

For the lesser diseases there are mediquillos or medicine men or women,

called "mañga-anito," who are called to exorcise the spirit creating the disturbance. Anyone who has cured patients or belongs to a family of mediquillos can follow the profession. There is an aversion to being a mediquillo, although it pays, because if a patient dies the medicine man who treated him is held accountable. As a rule they are treated with respect, and people stand more or less in awe of them, but they have sometimes been killed when they failed to effect a cure.

Señor Benito Guido, a native of Botolan, who accompanied me to the barrio of Tagilitil as interpreter, became slightly ill while in a camp. The Negritos were much worked up over it. They said it was caused by cutting the bamboo for our camp, the spirits that owned the bamboo being offended.

In order that we might witness their customs in such cases, an old woman who practiced as "mañga-anito" was called and offered to relieve the patient for a little money. A peso was given her and she began. Upon being asked how he was affected Señor Guido said that he felt as if something was weighing him down. Of course this was the spirit, which had to be removed before a cure could be effected. The mañga-anito danced around the patient and had him dance and turn somersaults. This was to make the spirit sorry he had chosen such an unstable abiding place. Finally she took hold of his hands, gave a mighty tug and then dropped back stiff. The spirit had passed from the body of the patient into her body.

During all these gymnastics the other Negritos had preserved a most solemn mien, but at this juncture they set to work to restore the stricken woman, rubbing and working her arms and legs until the spirit was gone. All disease is caused by spirits, which must be expelled from the body before a cure can be effected.

Use is also made of other remedies to supplement the ministrations of the mañga-anito. Attention has been called to the string of dried berries, called "a-gata," which the Negritos of Pinatubo wear around their necks for convenience in case of pains in the stomach. In southern Zambales what seem to be these same berries are used as a charm against snake bite. Here for pains in the stomach they boil a piece of iron in water and drink the water hot. Pieces of certain woods are believed efficacious for rheumatism, and old men especially may often be seen with them tied around the limbs. This superstition is not far removed from the belief entertained in certain rural districts of the United States that rheumatism may be prevented by carrying a horse chestnut in the pocket. The Negritos also wear such pieces of wood around the neck for colds and sore throat.

In cases of fever a bed is made from the leaves of a plant called "sam'-hon," which much resembles mint, and leaves are bound to the affected parts. The action of these leaves is cooling. For fractures they use bamboo splints and leaves of a plant called "ta-cum'-ba-o."

A bad cut is also bound up in these leaves or with the sap of a tree called "pan-da-ko'-kis."

The Negritos do nothing for skin disease, a form of herpes, with which a great many are afflicted. They probably do not regard it as a disease. (See Pls. LVI et seq.) In case of centipede bites, if on a finger, the affected member is thrust in the anus of a chicken, where, the Negrito affirms, the poison is absorbed, resulting in the death of the chicken.

Goiter is quite common. It is said to be caused by strain from carrying a heavy load of camotes or other objects on the head.

Smallpox, as has been said, is believed to be a visitation of the wrath of the supreme spirit, and if it breaks out in a rancheria the victim is left with a supply of food and water and the place is abandoned. After several days have elapsed the people return cautiously, and if they find the patient is dead they go away again never to return, but if he has recovered they take up their abode in the rancheria. A great many of the Negritos seen in Zambales have scars of smallpox.

The practice of blistering the body in case of sickness is very common in the Pinatubo region. The belief prevails with some individuals that in the healing up of the sore thus produced the sickness with which the body is afflicted will go away. Others affirmed that blistering was done only in case of fevers, and that the pain inflicted caused the patient to break out in a profuse perspiration which relieved the fever. This seems a more rational belief. Individuals were seen with as many as twenty scars produced in this manner.

Aside from the anito belief, the Negritos have other superstitions. Cries of birds at night are especially unlucky. If a person is starting out on a journey and someone sneezes just as he is leaving he will not go then. It is regarded as a sign of disaster, and delay of an hour or so is necessary in order to allow the spell to work off.

A certain parasitic plant that much resembles yellow moss and grows high up in trees is regarded as a very powerful charm. It is called "gay-u-ma" and a man who possesses it is called "nanara gayuma." If his eyes rest on a person during the new moon he will become sick at the stomach, but he can cure the sickness by laying hands on the afflicted part.

Señor Benito Guido says that when a young man he was told by Negritos that this charm would float upstream. And when he offered to give a carabao for it if that were so, its power was not shown. In spite of this, however, the Negritos are firm believers in it, and, for that matter, so also are the Christianized Zambal and Tagalog. It is likewise thought to be of value in attracting women. If it is rubbed on a woman or is smoked and the smoke blows on her the conquest is complete.

CHAPTER VII

SPANISH ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE NEGRITOS

The attention of the Spanish Government was early attracted to the Negritos and other savages in the Philippines, and their subjection and conversion was the subject of many royal orders, though unfortunately little was accomplished. One of the first decrees of the Gobierno Superior relating especially to the Negritos was that of June 12, 1846. It runs substantially as follows:

In my visits to the provinces of these Islands, having noticed, with the sympathy that they must inspire in all sensitive souls, the kind of life and the privations that many of the infidel tribes, and especially the Negritos who inhabit the mountains, are forced to endure; and persuaded that it is a duty of all civilized Governments and of humanity itself to better the condition of men, who, hidden thus from society, will in time become extinct, victims of their customs, of the unhealthfulness of the rugged places where they live, and of our negligence in helping them; and desirous of making them useful, that some day, influenced by the benefits of social life, they may enter the consoling pale of our Holy Mother, the Catholic Church, I hereby decree the following:

ARTICLE 1. The alcaldes and military and political governors of provinces in whose district there may be tribes or rancherias of the aforesaid Negritos or of other infidels shall proceed with the consent of the devoted *curas parrocos*, whose charity I implore for them, through their head men or capitanes, to induce them to take the necessary steps to assemble in villages, lands being given for that purpose, in places not very near to Christian pueblos, and seeds of grains and vegetables being furnished that they may cultivate the land.

* * * * *

ART. 3. Two years after the pueblo shall have been formed the inhabitants thereof shall pay a moderate tribute, which shall not for the present exceed one real per head, the youths and children being excepted, obtaining in compensation the usufruct of the lands which they may hold as their own property so long as they do not abandon the cultivation, being able to sell to others under the same conditions with the knowledge of the authority of the district.

ART. 4. Said authorities and also the priests shall maintain the greatest zeal and vigilance that the Christian pueblos do not intrude on those of the infidels or Negritos, neither that individuals live among them nor that they harass or molest them on any pretext whatsoever under penalty of being punished. * * *

ART. 5. As I have understood that if the Negritos refuse social life it is on account of their being warned by the Christians who employ them in cutting wood, bamboo, and bejuco, and in the collection of other products of the woods

which they inhabit, the chiefs of the provinces and the justices of the peace shall take care that no one enters into such contracts with the Negritos without competent authorization, leaving his name in a register in order that if he fail to pay the true value of the articles satisfactory to the Negritos or mistreats them it will be possible to fix the blame on him and to impose the proper penalty.

Article 6 states that—

It shall not be necessary for the Negritos to embrace the Catholic faith, but the priests shall go among them to examine their condition and learn their needs and teach them the advantages of civil life and the importance of religion.

Article 7 provides for a report every three months from those officers in charge of such districts.

This all sounds very well, and if carried out might have succeeded in improving the condition of the unfortunate Negritos, but we can not find that the provincial officials showed great zeal in complying with the executive request.

On January 14, 1881, a decree very similar to this was issued. The first part of this decree related to the newly converted or "sometidos." But article 7 authorized the provincial authorities to offer in the name of the State to Aetas and other pagans the following advantages in exchange for voluntary submission: Life in pueblos; unity of families; concession of good lands and direction in cultivating them in the manner which they wished and which would be most productive; maintenance and clothing during one year; respect for their usages and customs so far as they did not oppose the natural law; to leave to their own wishes whether or not they should become Christians; to buy or facilitate the sale of their crops; exemption from contributions and tributes for ten years; and lastly, government by local officials elected by themselves under the direct dependency of the head of the province or district.

These provisions were certainly liberal enough, but they bore little fruit so far as the Negritos were concerned. Being sent out as circulars to the chiefs of all provinces, such decrees received scant attention, each provincial head probably preferring to believe that they were meant for someone else. Although it sounded well on paper, the difficulties in the way of successful compliance with such an order were many. But in one way and another the authorities sought to reach the hill tribes, though it must be confessed they were actuated rather by a desire to preserve peace in their provinces and to protect the plainsmen from the plundering raids of the savages than by motives of philanthropy in improving the condition of the latter.

The Negritos of Zambales were classed as conquistados and non-conquistados, according to whether they lived in amicable relations with the Filipinos or stole carabaos and killed the people whenever they had the opportunity. The Guardia Civil made many raids into the mountains for the purpose of punishing the predatory Negritos, and many

are the stories related by old members of that military organization now living in the province concerning conflicts which they had with the little black bow-and-arrow men, who always got the worst of it. Gradually they came to see the futility of resistance. As a matter of fact these raids were only for the purpose of securing food and not because of enmity toward the Filipinos. When a group expressed their desire to live peaceably in their hills they were dubbed "conquistados" and left alone so long as they behaved. The number of conquistados grew and the "unconquered" retreated farther into the mountains. Carabao raids are very infrequent now, for the people disposed to make them are too remote from the plains and would have to pass through territory of the settled and peaceable Negritos, who would inform the party sent in pursuit. But the Constabulary has had two or three raids of this kind to deal with during the past two years.

Those Negritos still living in a wild state have very simple government. They simply gather around the most powerful man, whom they recognize as a sort of chief and whom they follow into raids on the plains or neighboring tribes of Negritos. But when living peaceably scattered through their mountains each head of a family is a small autocrat and rules his family and those of his sons who elect to remain with him. When he dies the oldest son becomes the head of the family. Usually, however, a group of families living in one locality recognizes one man as a capitán. He may be chosen by the president of the nearest pueblo or by the Negritos themselves, who are quick to recognize in this way superior ability or greater wealth. The capitán settles disputes between families.

The next step in the civilizing process is the gathering together to form villages. This was the end to which the Spaniards worked, but the process was retarded by the Christianized natives who profited by trade with the Negritos in forest products and who advised them to avoid coming under Spanish rule where they would have to pay tribute. If a community became sufficiently large and bade fair to be permanent it was made a barrio of the nearest pueblo and given a teniente and concejales like other barrios. This was the case with Aglao and Santa Fé, in the jurisdiction of San Marcelino, but Ilokano immigrants settled in these places and the Negritos gradually withdrew to the hills and settled in other places, until now there are very few Negritos actually living in these towns. One old man in Aglao, who once went to Spain as a servant to an officer, speaks very good Spanish.

In spite of the reprisals made by the Guardia Civil and other means employed by the Spaniards, Negrito raids went on without much cessation until 1894. In that year the authorities induced a head man named Layos to come down to the town of San Marcelino for an interview. Layos came down about as nature had provided him and was

received with much ceremony by the town authorities. They dressed him up from head to foot, made him presents, and feasted him for several days. Then with the customary Spanish pomp, parade of soldiery, and flare of trumpets, they presented him with a gaudy sash and named him Capitán General del Monte. He was given charge of all the Negritos in the district and charged to keep them under control. The sash was a cheap print affair, but it answered the purpose. The effect of all this on an untamed savage can be imagined. Layos was impressed. He went back to the hills with his new treasures and an experience worth relating. It is said that the robbing and killing of Christian natives lessened materially after that.

When I was at Cabayan in that district I saw Layos. He was a heavy-set man of about 38, harelipped, an old ragged shirt and breechcloth his only apparel, and with nothing of his former grandeur but the memory. The sash, his badge of office, he said had long since gone in breechcloths.

In the same year (1894) all Negritos in the Botolan district who would come down from the mountains were fed for five or six months in hope that they would settle down and remain. But they were given nothing to do and were not shown how to work, and when the feeding stopped they all went back to the hills, the only place where they knew how to secure sustenance. Although this experiment did not result as desired, it probably had good effects, for the people of this region are the farthest advanced to-day and are most inclined to live in villages. I am informed that since my visit some of the Negritos have moved down to the Filipino village of Pombato and there are several Negrito children in the native school. The people of Tagiltil have even expressed a desire for a school. The presence of several Zambal and half-breeds in this village and its nearness to the Filipinos probably account for its being ahead of other villages in this as in other respects.

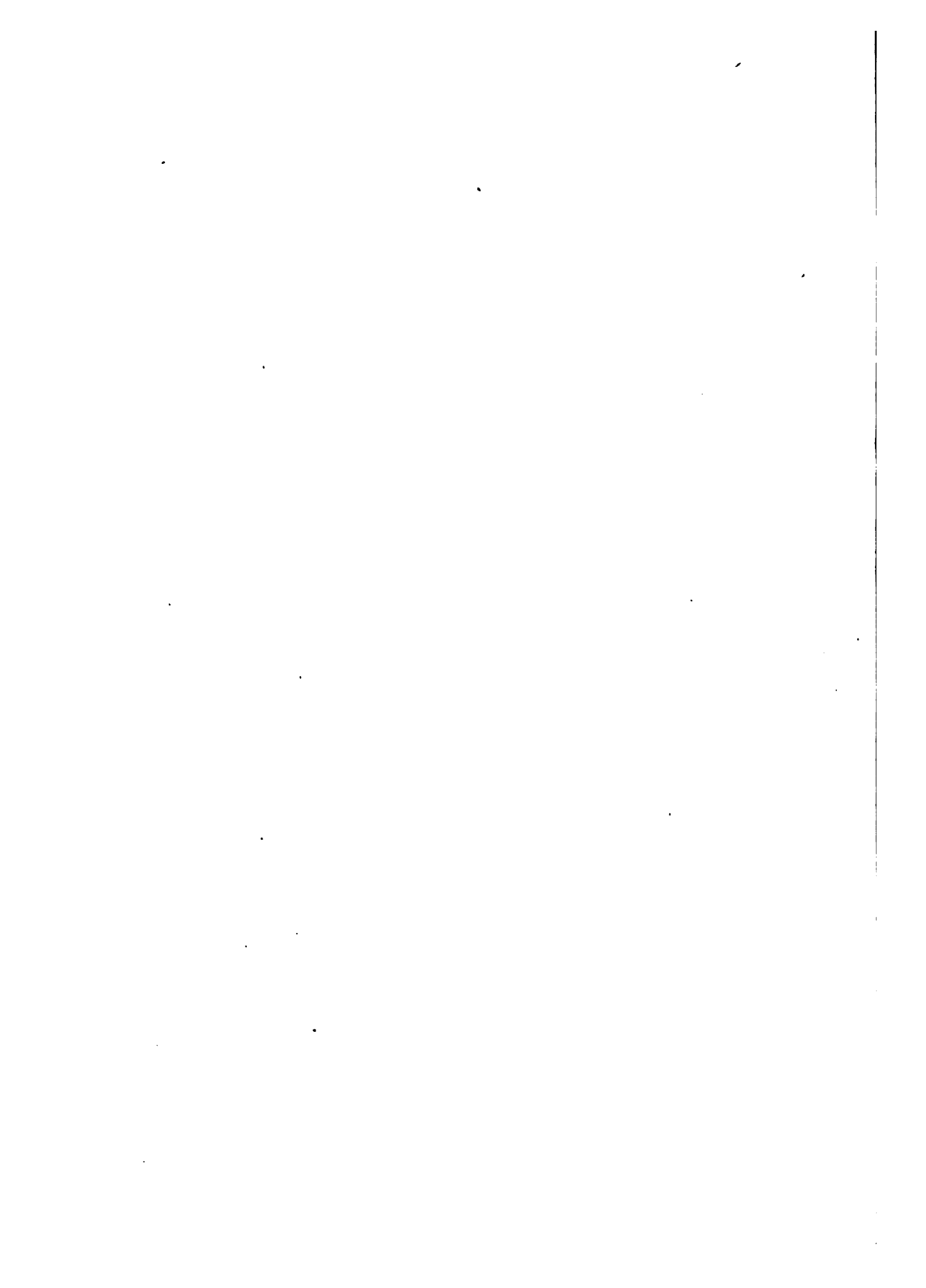




Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LI. NEGRITO WOMAN AND DAUGHTER, BATAAN.

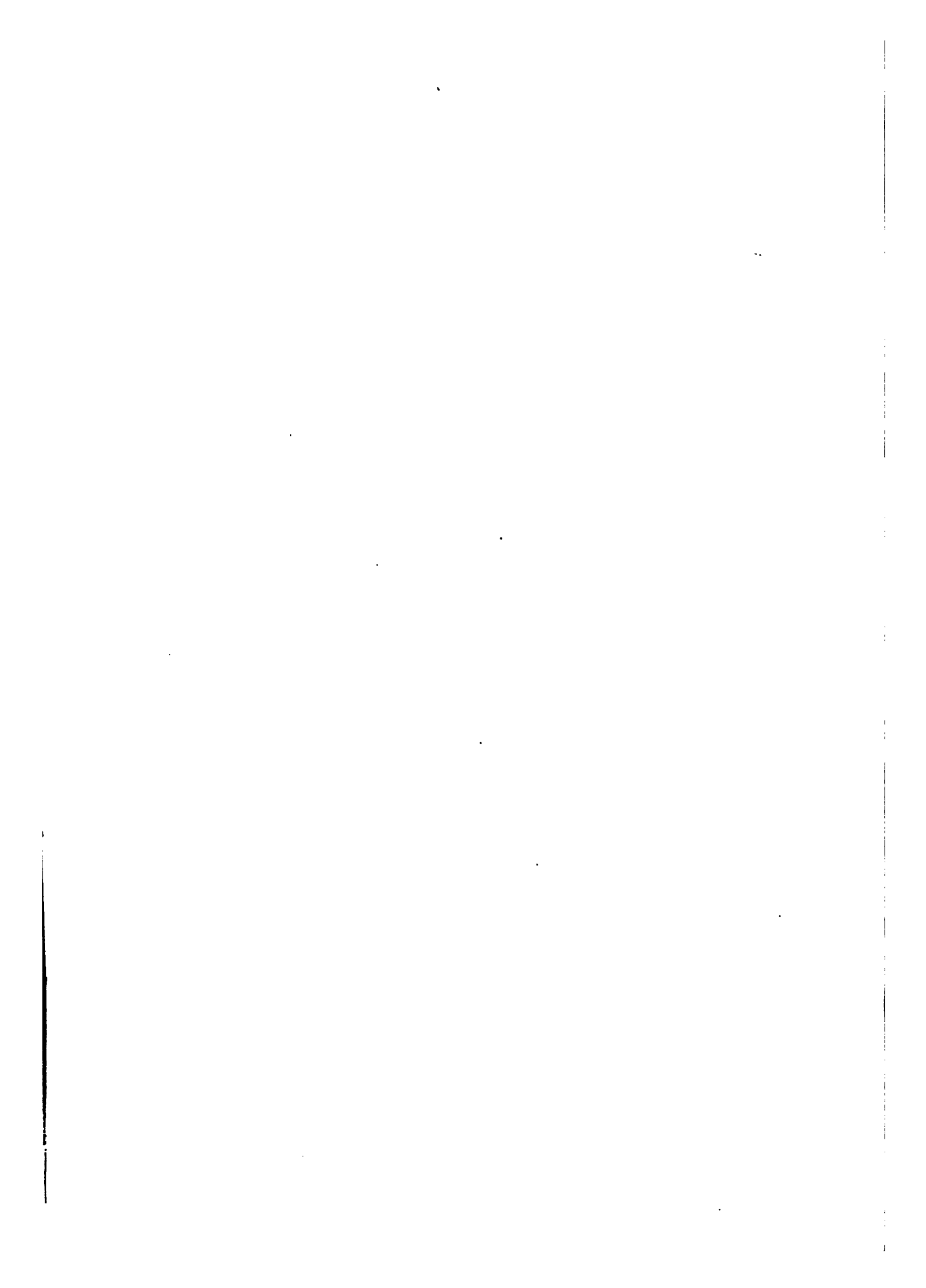




Photos by Diamond.

PLATE LVII. NEGRITO WOMAN OF ZAMBALES, PURE BLOOD, SHOWING SCARS MADE BY BLISTERING FOR FEVERS, ETC.

APPENDIXES



APPENDIX A

ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS

The paucity of measurements has already been explained, but those that were taken are given here for what they are worth. I do not attempt to draw any conclusions from them or undertake any discussion other than that already given in the chapter on physical features.

In the following tables it should be noted that where the age is given the number indicates only an estimate, as no Negrito knows his age. It has been thought better to give these approximate ages than to leave them out entirely, in order to distinguish the very young from the middle aged and old:

Measurements of Negritos

No.	Sex	Age	Stand- ing height	Span of arms	Length of nose	Breadth of nose	Nasal index	Length of ear
1	Female	18	1,406	1,456	35	38	108	57
2	do	35	1,487	1,487	38	38	100	64
3	do	14	1,325	1,325	36	30	88	55
4	do	30	1,440	1,462	36	38	105	56
5	do	40	1,388	1,400	40	48	107	58
6	Male	27	1,520	1,580	41	43	104	60
7	do	20	1,491	1,508	39	47	130	57
8	do		1,440	1,464	40	43	107	57
9	do		1,500	1,538	43	40	98	60
10	do	15	1,357	1,347	34	40	117	54
11	do		1,426	1,483	40	47	117	57
12	Female	20	1,390	1,390	30	37	123	
13	do	19	1,265	1,170	35	35	100	
14	do	20	1,400	1,410	35	40	114	
15	do		1,410	1,375	35	42	120	
16	do		1,480	1,485	35	40	114	
17	Male	22	1,465	1,485	37	46	124	60
18	do		1,472	1,470	44	40	90	60
19	do	24	1,363	1,404	38	36	94	57
20	do	18	1,473	1,493	40	48	107	57
21	do	19	1,390	1,412	40	42	105	56
22	do	25	1,490	1,490	37	43	116	57
23	do	14	1,282	1,315	35	35	100	52
24	do		1,404	1,438	42	38	90	65

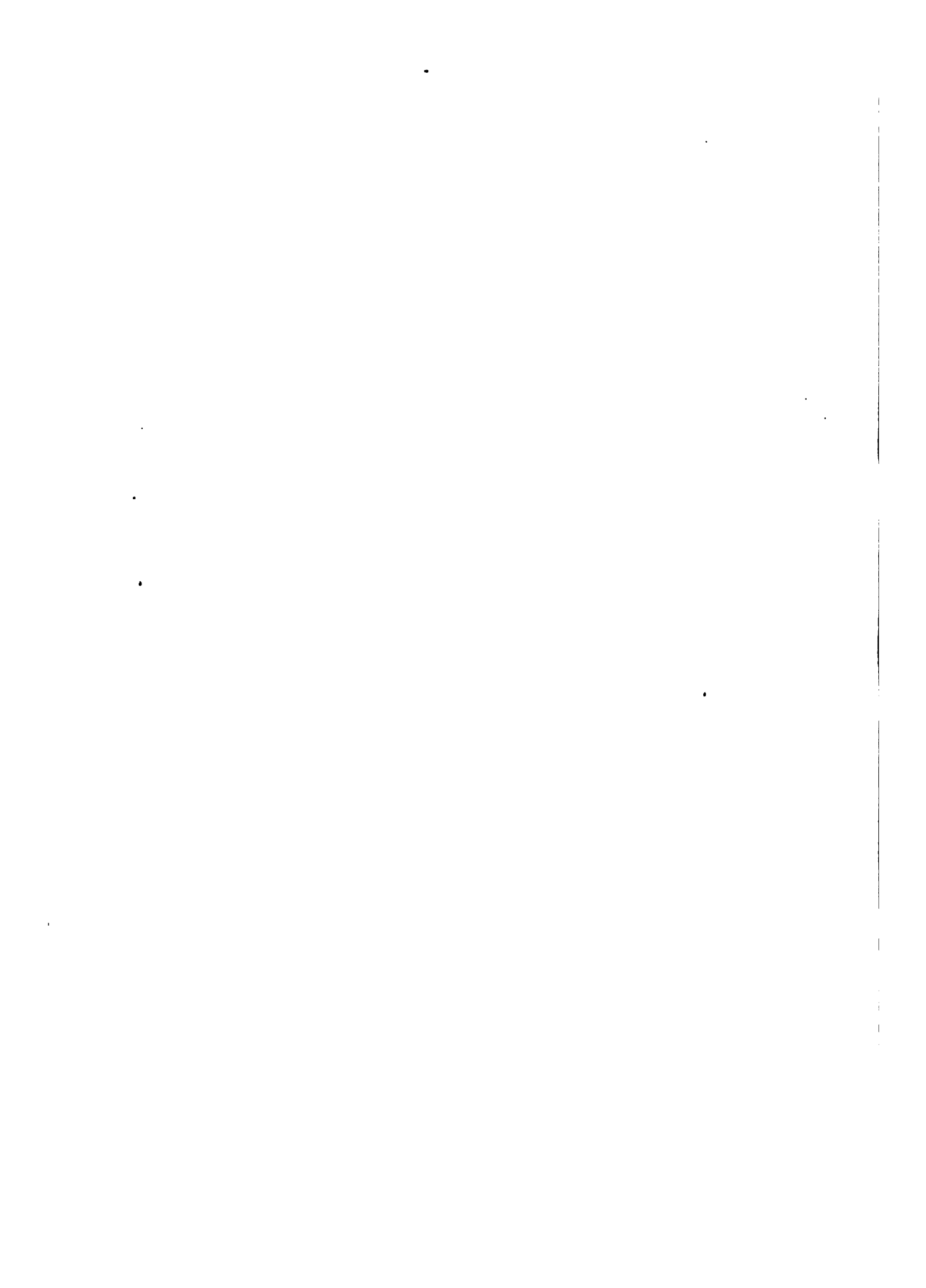
Measurements of Negritos—Continued

No.	Sex	Age	Stand- ing height	Span of arms	Length of nose	Breadth of nose	Nasal index	Length of ear
25	Female	19	1,302	1,313	27	38	140	55
26	do	20	1,472	1,588	40	38	95	58
27	Male		1,434	1,497	37	42	113	56
28	do	50	1,421	1,519	40	40	100	60
29	Female	24	1,358	1,418	35	37	105	58
30	do	55	1,333	1,350	40	40	100	60
31	do		1,383	1,435	41	38	92	62
32	do	30	1,285	1,285	34	38	111	55
33	do	50	1,318	1,302	35	40	114	60
34	Male	40	1,342	1,448	38	46	121	62
35	do	20	1,458	1,582	40	42	105	58
36	do	18	1,480	1,586	44	44	100	60
37	do	15	1,500	1,547	41	45	109	60
38	do	28	1,365	1,390	41	49	119	58
39	do	30	1,585	1,570	43	47	109	63
40	Female	15	1,308	1,354	41	35	85	54
41	do	35	1,373	1,368	36	38	105	59
42	do	35	1,355	1,370	40	40	100	60
43	do	16	1,407	1,430	36	36	100	56
44	do	22	1,420	1,466	40	43	107	64
45	Male		1,585	1,581	43	39	90	57
46	do		1,448	1,532	41	40	97	55
47	do		1,476	1,540	40	40	100	59
48	Female		1,396	1,415	40	35	107	60
49	do	20	1,368	1,400	35	40	117	53
50	Male		1,570	1,625	46	43	98	58
51	do	22	1,480	1,545	42	49	116	60
52	do	30	1,600	1,634	49	42	85	62
53	do	35	1,521	1,566	42	47	111	60
54	Female		1,502	1,520	41	39	95	58
55	do		1,410	1,410	32	38	118	60
56	do	16	1,316	1,336	34	38	111	56
57	Male	18	1,425	1,445	42	42	100	56
58	do	23	1,380	1,430	36	45	125	62

Measurements of Negritos—Continued

No.	Sex	Age	Standing height	Height of shoulders	Span of arms	Width of shoulders	Length of hand	Length of arm	Height sitting
59	Male	28	1,480	1,227	1,530	375	163	600	1,200
60	do.	16	1,470	1,225	1,510	370	165	623	1,180
61	do.	40	1,520	1,295	1,530	356	170	640	1,224
62	do.	17	1,490	1,247	1,500	425	145	600	1,208
63	do.	25	1,510	1,245	1,545	386	175	635	1,215
64	do.	18	1,445	1,218	1,500	350	160	600	1,235
65	do.	28	1,444	1,210	1,540	350	170	605	
66	do.	30	1,524	1,275	1,620	390	180	675	
67	do.	35	1,550	1,324	1,410	384	180	655	1,255
68	do.	40	1,500	1,248	1,465	364	180	640	1,290
69	do.	35	1,480	1,227	1,550	383	175	650	1,272
70	do.	60	1,586	1,370	1,635	373	177	675	
71	do.	25	1,395	1,169	1,469	342	149	586	
72	Female	35	1,420	1,165	1,460	334	159	582	
73	do.	33	1,337	1,140	1,380	293	155	539	
74	do.	27	1,362	1,137	1,407	330	150	558	
75	Male	30	1,526	1,281	1,524	370	163	616	
76	do.	17	1,435	1,197	1,447	350	160	586	
77	do.	45	1,450	1,270	1,480	322	162	571	

No.	Sex	Age	Length of foot	Length of head	Breadth of head	Cephalic index	Length of nose	Breadth of nose	Nasal index	Length of ear
59	Male	28	215	189	150	79.3	38	39	102.6	58
60	do.	16	230	175	144	82.2	35	35	100	55
61	do.	40	225	176	145	82.3	39	37	94.8	61
62	do.	17	230	190	153	80.5	33	40	121.2	51
63	do.	25	226	190	150	78.9	40	42	165	54
64	do.	18	220	175	150	85.7	35	37	105.7	50
65	do.	28	223	176	141	80	47	40	85.1	64
66	do.	30	245	171	158	92.3	40	49	122.5	54
67	do.	35	240	182	145	79.7	40	41	102.5	60
68	do.	40	245	174	145	83.5	46	46	100	66
69	do.	35	255	180	152	84.4	37	37	100	58
70	do.	60	246	191	159	83.2	43	44	102.3	54
71	do.	25	207	180	142	78.8	43	36	83.7	58
72	Female	35	211	171	148	86.5	44	35	79.5	52
73	do.	33	208	166	141	84.9	41	41	100	55
74	do.	27	199	168	147	87.5	42	36	85.9	55
75	Male	30	230	174	140	80.4	42	38	90.4	52
76	do.	17	210	170	135	79.3	42	35	83.3	56
77	do.	45	213	175	148	84.5	39	38	97.4	64



APPENDIX B

VOCABULARIES

As has been pointed out already, the Negritos of Zambales seem to have lost entirely their own language and to have adopted that of the Christianized Zambal. A study of the vocabularies here given will show that in various sections of the province Zambal is to-day the language of the Negritos. Differences will be found, of course, in the dialects of regions which do not come much into contact with each other, and contact with other dialects creates different changes in different localities.

The chief difference between the Bolinao dialect and that of the region south is the substitution of the letter "r" in the former for "l;" as "arong" for "along," nose; "dira" for "dila," tongue. Yet not a few words are entirely different. These differences may arise from the use of synonyms or from misinformation, as I was able to take the Bolinao vocabulary from only two individuals. This dialect is spoken in the towns of Bolinao, Anda, Bani, and Zaragoza, although I am informed that there are even slight differences in the speech of the people of some of these towns. The towns from Infanta to Iba have the second dialect.

When the Aeta element enters the differences become more apparent, although the relationship between the differing words may often be seen; for instance, "sabot," hair, becomes "habot;" "along," nose, becomes "balongo." But the number of words which bear no relationship is greater than in the case of the first two dialects. It is possible that here we find traces of an original Negrito language, but I believe that all these words can be traced to Malay roots. It will be noticed also that the two following vocabularies taken from Negritos at Santa Fé and Subig do not differ materially from the Zambal-Aeta—in fact, they may be regarded as identical.

The writer can not vouch for the vocabularies from Bataan and Bulacan, but gives them for the sake of comparison. The words collected by Montano are mostly Tagalog and differ somewhat from Cooke's. The latter states that he verified his seven times. The two sets are probably from different parts of the province. The Dumagat vocabulary from Bulacan Province, while offering greater differences, is plainly of Malay origin like all the others.

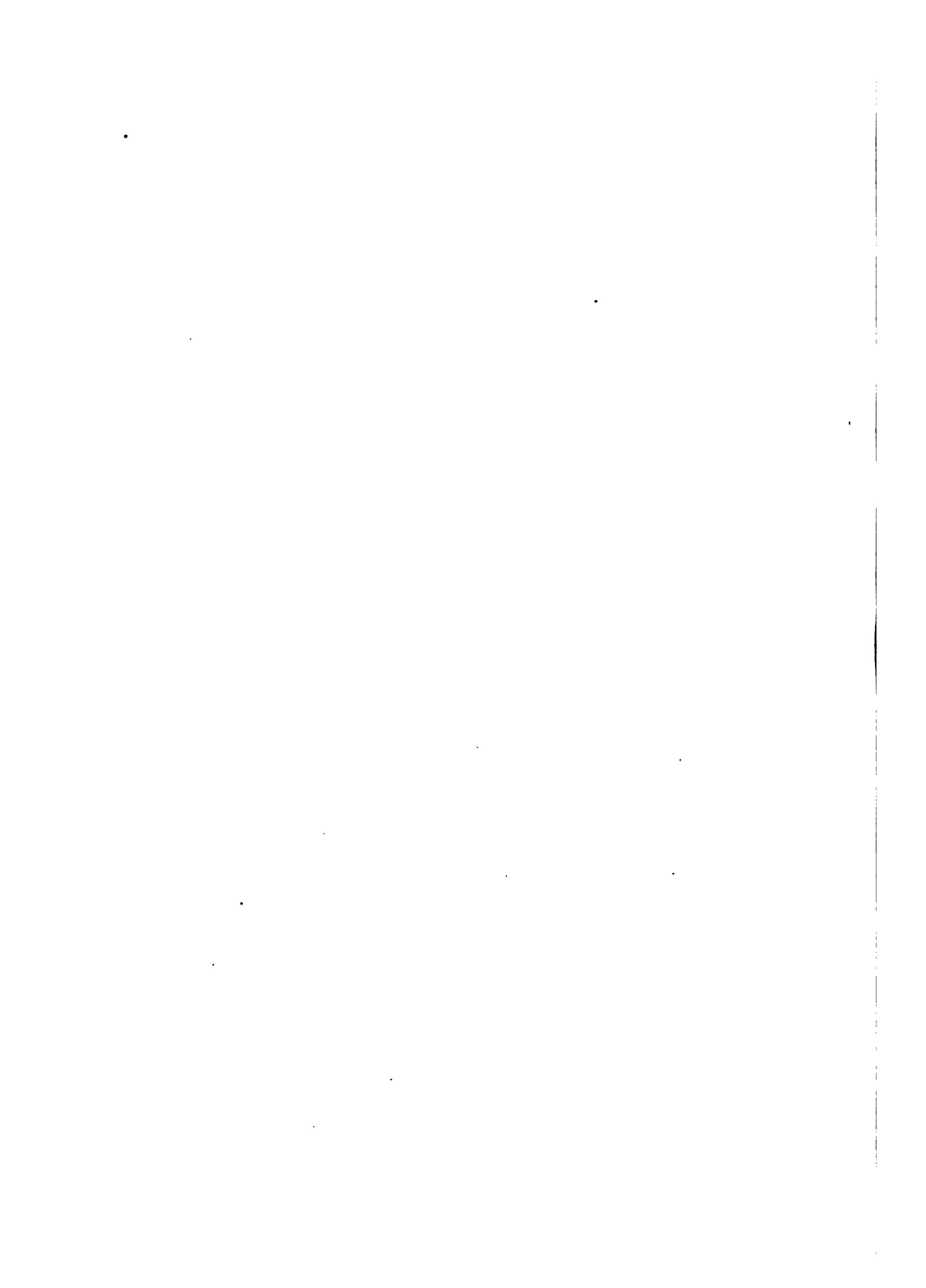
No.	English	Zambal of Bolinao	Zambal of Iba	Zambal-Aeta
1	Man	la-la'-ki	la-la'-ki	la-la'-ki
2	Woman	ba-bay'-e	ba-bay'-e	ba-bay'-e
3	Father	a'-ma	a'-ma	a'-ma
4	Mother	i'-na	i'-na	na'-na
5	Brother	bu'-sat	ta-la-sa'-ka	pa'-tel
6	Sister	bu'-sat	ta-la-sa'-ka	pa'-tel
7	Uncle	ba'-pa	ba'-pa	ba'-pa
8	Aunt	da'-da	da'-ra	in'-do
9	Son	a'-nak	a'-nak	a'-nak
10	Daughter	a'-nak	a'-nak	a'-nak
11	Head	o'-ro	o'-ro	o'-lo
12	Hair	sa-bot'	sa-bot'	ha-bot'
13	Mouth	bo-bo'-y	bo-bo'-y	bo-bo'-y
14	Eye	ma'-ta	ma'-ta	ma'-ta
15	Nose	a'-rong	a'-long	ba-loŋg'-o
16	Teeth	ni'-pen	ni'-pen	ni'-pin
17	Tongue	di'-ra	di'-la	di'-la
18	Ear	to-tor'-yan	to-tol'-yan	tu'-li
19	Arm	ta-ki-ay'	ta-ki-ay'	ta-ki-ay'
20	Leg	pa'-a	pa'-a	pa'-a
21	Chest	ke-rep'	ke-lep'	nib'-nib
22	Back	gu-rot'	bo-kot'	bo-kot'
23	Foot	ay'-e	ay'-e	bi'-ti
24	Hand	ga'-met	ga'-met	ga'-met
25	Finger	ga-ra-may'-e	ga-la-may'-e	ga-la-may'-e
26	Earth	lu'-ta	lu'-ta	lu'-ta
27	Sky	raŋg'-it	laŋg'-it	laŋg'-it
28	Sun	au'-ro	au'-lo	al'-lo
29	Moon	bu'-ran	bu'-lan	bu'-an
30	Star	bi-tu'-un	bi-tu'-un	bi-tu'-in
31	Cloud	re'-rem	a-la-pa'-ap	da'-yim
32	Rain	ra'-peg	a-ba-gat'	u'-ran
33	Thunder	ko'-dor		cu'-rol
34	Lightning	ki'-mat		ki'-mat
35	Water	ra'-nom	la'-nom	la'-nom
36	Fire	a-po'-y	a-po'-y	a-po'-y
37	White	ma-pu'-ti	ma-pu'-ti	ma-pu'-ti
38	Black	maŋg'-i'-sit	maŋg'-i'-tit	maŋg'-i'-tit
39	Red	ma-o-dit'	ma-ti-bi'-a	ma-o-rit'
40	Yellow	ma-sil-ya'-o	ma-hol-ya'-o	ma-hol-ya'-o
41	Cooked rice	ka'-nen	ka'-nen	ka'-nin
42	Uncooked rice	bu'-yas	bu'-yas	bu'-ya
43	Day	au'-ro	au'-lo	al'-lo
44	Night	ya'-bi	ya'-bi	ya'-bi
45	Cold	ma-ra-yep'	ma-la-yep'	ma-la-yip'
46	Hot	ma-mot'	ma-mot'	ma-mot'
47	Large	a-la-ki'	ma-hi-ban'	mal-hay'
48	Small	da-i-te'	ma-ca-lug'	may-a'-mo
49	Good	ma-ong'	la'-bas	ma'-ham-pat'
50	Bad	ma-ra-yet'	ma-la-yet'	ma-la-yit'
51	Rich	may-a-man'	may-a-man'	may-a-man'
52	Poor	ma-i-dap'	ma-i-rap'	ma-i-rap'
53	Sick	ma-sa-kit'	ma-sa-kit'	ma-ha-kit'
54	Dead	na'-ti	na'-ti	na'-ti
55	Here	i'-ti	i'-ti	a-ka-lung'-un
56	There	i'-sen	i'-sen	ba'-hen
57	No	ka'-i	ka'-i	a'-he
58	Yes	o	ya	a'-o
59	To sleep	ma'-rek	ma'-lek	ma-to-lo'-i
60	To jump	ru-mok'-zo	lu-mok'-zo	mi-tok-tok-pa'-o
61	To run	mo-ray'-o	mo-lay'-o	may'-o
62	To fight	mi-a-wa'-y, raban	la'-ban	mi-a-wa'-y
63	To eat	maŋg'-an	maŋg'-an	maŋg'-an

Aeta of Santa Fé	Aeta of Subig	Aeta, Bataan Province	Dumagat, Bulacan Province	No.
la-la'-ki	ya'-ki	la-la-ke'*	ta'-nun-gu'-bat	1
ba-bay'-e	ba-bay'-e	ba-bay'-e*	mow'-na	2
ba'-pa	ba'-pa	ba'-pa, ama*	. . . . .	3
in'-do	in'-do	in'do, inang*	. . . . .	4
ka-pa-tel	. . . . .	ka'-ka, kapatid*	. . . . .	5
ka-pa-tel	. . . . .	o-pa-tel', kapatid*	. . . . .	6
da'-ra	. . . . .	ale'*	. . . . .	7
da'-ra	. . . . .	mama*	. . . . .	8
a'-nak	a'-nak	a'-nak*	anak	9
a'-nak	a'-nak	a'-nak*	anak na mowna	10
o'-lo	la'-bo	o'-o, ulo*	pun'-tuk	11
ha-bot'	ha-bot'	la-buk', bohoc*	. . . . .	12
bo-bo'-y	bo-bo'-y	ba-lu'-go, bebec*	un'-suk	13
ma'-ta	ma'-ta	ma'-ta *	. . . . .	14
ba-long'-o	ba-long'-o	ba-tong', flong*	an-gut	15
n-l'-pen	nl'-pen	nl'-pul	nl'-pon	16
di'-la	di'-la	gi'-lo	. . . . .	17
tu'-li	to'-ok	tu'-uk, taenga*	ta-ling'-a	18
ta-ki-ay'	ta-ki-ay'	tu-ki-ay', camay*	co-mot'	19
pa'-a	pa'-a	pam'-pa, pa'	pa'-a	20
nib'-nib	dub'-dub	dub'-dub, debdeb*	dib'-dib	21
bo-kot'	. . . . .	li'-kul	. . . . .	22
bi'-ti	ta-lim-pa-pa'-kan	ta-lan-pa'-kin	. . . . .	23
ga'-met	ga'-met	a'-ma-kam'-a-ha	. . . . .	24
ga-la-may'-e	da-le'-di	da-li-ri, dalin*	. . . . .	25
lu-ta	lu'-ta	lu'-ta	pu'-tok	26
lang'-it	lang'-it	. . . . .	lang'-ot	27
al'-lo	al'-lo	u'-lo	a-da'-o	28
bu'-an	bu'-yan	. . . . .	ma-tal'-lung	29
bi'-tu-in	bi'-tu-in	ba'-tu-in	bu'-ta-tul'-ya	30
lo'-om	ta'-la	u'-wip	. . . . .	31
u'-ran	a-ba'-gat	ulan*	. . . . .	32
ku'-rol	ki'-lot	da-ug-dug'	. . . . .	33
ki'-mat	ki'-mat	ma-la'-wut	. . . . .	34
la'-nom	la'-num	la'-num, tubig*	o'-rat	35
a'-po-y	a'-po-y	a'-po-y*	a'-po-y	36
ma-pu'-ti	ma-pu'-ti	maputi*	ma-lup'-say	37
mang-l'-tit	ma'-o-lin	matim*	mal-a-ton'	38
ma-o-rit'	. . . . .	mapula*	mat-la	39
ma-hol-ya'-o	. . . . .	. . . . .	sa-la-kut'	40
ka'-un	ka'-nen	. . . . .	. . . . .	41
bu'-ya	bu'-ya	bigas*	a'-moy	42
al'-lo	al'-lo	u'-lo	adlo	43
ya'-bi	ya'-bi	. . . . .	du'-mong	44
mal-a-yep'	mal-a-yep'	ma-lam'-ig, maginao*	mag'-id-non	45
ma-o-mot'	ma-o-mot'	. . . . .	may-a-nit'	46
mal-hay'	mal-hay'	. . . . .	hun'-ga	47
may-a-mo'	may-a-mo'	. . . . .	ma-sa-ninp'	48
ma-ham'-pat	ma-ham'-pat	. . . . .	ma-sam'-pat	49
ma-la-yit'	ma-la-yit'	. . . . .	ma-lot'	50
may-a-man'	may-a-man'	. . . . .	may-a-man'	51
ma-l-rap'	ma-l-rap'	. . . . .	. . . . .	52
ma-ha-kit'	ma'-in-ha'-kit	. . . . .	teoram	53
na'-ti	na'-ti	. . . . .	nalebou	54
bi-er'-i	a-ri'-di	. . . . .	dian	55
bay'-hen	a-ri'-do	. . . . .	dedeyaya	56
a'-he	a'-he	ayaw*	ayenok	57
a'-o	a'-o	o-o'*	abu-kogid	58
ma-to-lo'-i	ma-to-lo'-i	matulog*	napediak	59
mag-tok-pa'-o	lu-mo'-ko	lemokso	lumowat	60
may'-o	may'-o	takumbao*	gumekan	61
mi-awa'-y	ma-ki'-a-wa'-y	. . . . .	sullo-sum-to-yan	62
mafig'-an	mafig'-an	caIn*	mumungan	63

No.	English	Zambal of Bolinao	Zambal of Iba	Zambal-Aeta
64	To drink	mi'-nom	mi'-nom	mi'-nom
65	Tree	ka'-yo	kay'-yo	kay'-yo
66	Mountain	ba'-ker	ba'-kil	ba'-kil
67	River	i'-log	i'-lug	ka-bu-la-san'
68	Stone	ba'-to	ba'-to	ba'-to
69	Grass	di'-kot	di'-kot	di'-kot
70	Dog	a'-so	a'-so	a'-ho
71	Rooster	ma-nuk'	ma-nook'	ma-nook'
72	Hen	o'-pa	tu'-a	tu'-a
73	One	sa'-ya	a'-sa	mi'-ha
74	Two	ru'-a	lu'-a	lu'-a
75	Three	ta'-ro	to'-lo	ta'-lo
76	Four	a'-pat	a'-pat	a'-pat
77	Five	ri'-ma	li'-ma	li'-ma
78	Six	a'-nem	a'-nem	a'-nam
79	Seven	pi'-to	pi'-to	pi'-to
80	Eight	ca'-ro	ca'-lo	ca'-lo
81	Nine	si'-am	si'-am	si'-am
82	Ten	ma-pu'-ro	ma-po'-lo	ma'-po
83	Eleven	la'-bin-sa'-ya	la'-bin-a'-sa	la'-bin-mi'-ha
84	Twelve	la'-bin-ru'-a	la'-bin-lu'-a	la'-bin-lu'-a
85	Thirteen	la'-bin-ta'-ro	la'-bin-to'-lo	la'-bin-tat'-lo
86	Fourteen	la'-bin-a'-pat	la'-bin-a'-pat	la'-bin-a'-pat
87	Twenty	ru'-an-pu'-ro	lu'-am-po'-lo	lu-am'-po
88	Twenty-one	ru'-an-pu'-ro-sa'-ya	lu'-am-po'-lo-a'-sa	lu-am-po-mi'-ha
89	Thirty	ta-ron-pu'-ro	to'-lom-po'-lo	tat-lom-po'
90	Forty	a'-pat-a-pu'-ro	a'-pat-a-po'-lo	a'-pat-a-po'
91	One hundred	san-ya'-sot	say-a-tos'	mi'-hun-ga'-to
92	I	si'-ko	si'-ko	hi'-ko
93	You	si'-ka	kay'-o	kay'-o
94	He	si-tao'	hi'-a	
95	We	si-ka'-mi	hi-ta'-mo	hi-ta'-mo
96	They	sa'-ra	hi'-la	hi'-la
97	Our	i'-ko-mi	i-kun'-ta-mo	i-kun-ta'-mo
98	My	i-kon'-ko	i-kon'-ko	i-kon'-ko
99	Near	a'-dam	ma-ra'-mi	ma-ra'-mi
100	Far	a-day'-o	ma-day'-yo	ma-ro'-yo

Aeta of Santa Fé	Aeta of Subig	Aeta, Bataan Province	Dumagat, Bulacan Province	No.
mi'-nom	mi'-nom	minum*	neniomok	64
kay'-yo	kay'-yo	ka-hoy* kayo	. . . . .	65
ba'-kil	ba'-kil	bu'-kil	66
ba'-la	sa'-num	67
ba'-to	ba'-to	ba-to*	68
di'-kot	di'-kot	69
a'-ho	70
ma-nok'	ma-nook'	71
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mi'-ha	mi'-ha	isa*	isin	73
lu'-a	lu'-a	delawa*	adua	74
tat'-lo	ta'-lo	tatlo*	telewan	75
a'-pat	a'-pat	apat*	76
li'-ma	li'-ma	lima*	. . . . .	77
a'-nem	a'-nem	anem*	. . . . .	78
pi'-to	pi'-to	pito*	. . . . .	79
oa'-lo	oa'-lo	oalo*	. . . . .	80
si'-am	si-am	siam*	. . . . .	81
ma'-po	ham'-po	sampo*	isin-a-mapolo	82
la'-bin-mi-ha	la'-bin-mi'-ha	. . . . .	isin-a-mopolo-a-isin	88
la'-bin-lu'-a	la'-bin-lu'-a	. . . . .	isin-o-mopolo-adua	84
la'-bin-tat'-lo	la'-bin-tat'-lo	. . . . .	. . . . .	85
la'-bin-a'-pat	la'-bin-a'-pat	86
lu-am'-po	lu-am'-pa	aduamapolo	87
lu-am'-po-mi'-ha	lu-am'-po-mi'-ha	88
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a'-pat-a-po'	a'-pat-a-po'	90
mi-hun-ga'-to	ma-ga'-to	sandaan*	isinadian	91
hi'-co	a'-co*	92
hi'-ca	lcao	98
.	94
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.	98
.	99
.	100

The words marked (*) were taken from Montano's vocabulary in his Mission aux Philippines. The others were collected by C. J. Cooke, MS. of The Ethnological Survey, and E. J. Simons, MS. of The Ethnological Survey.



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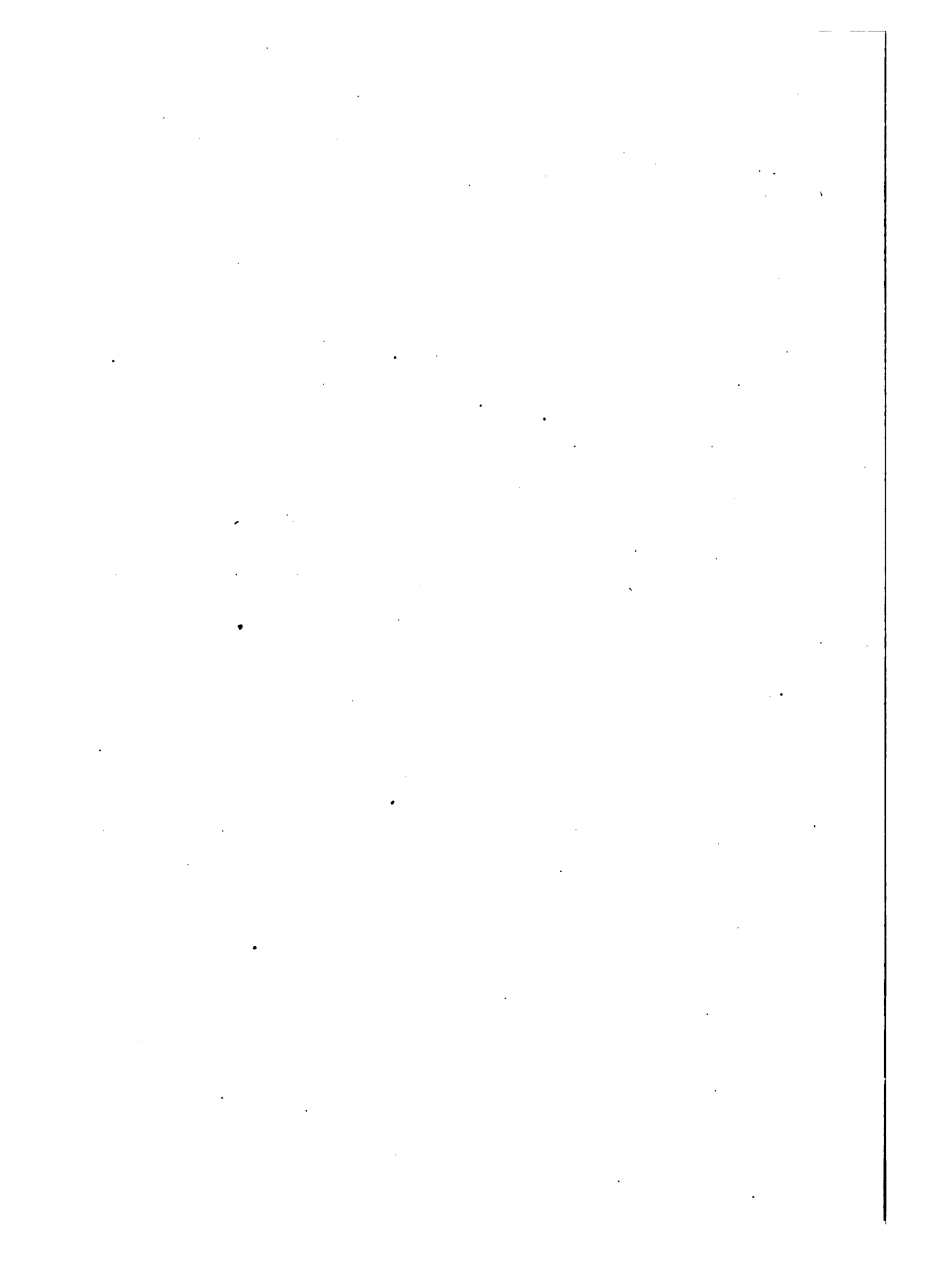
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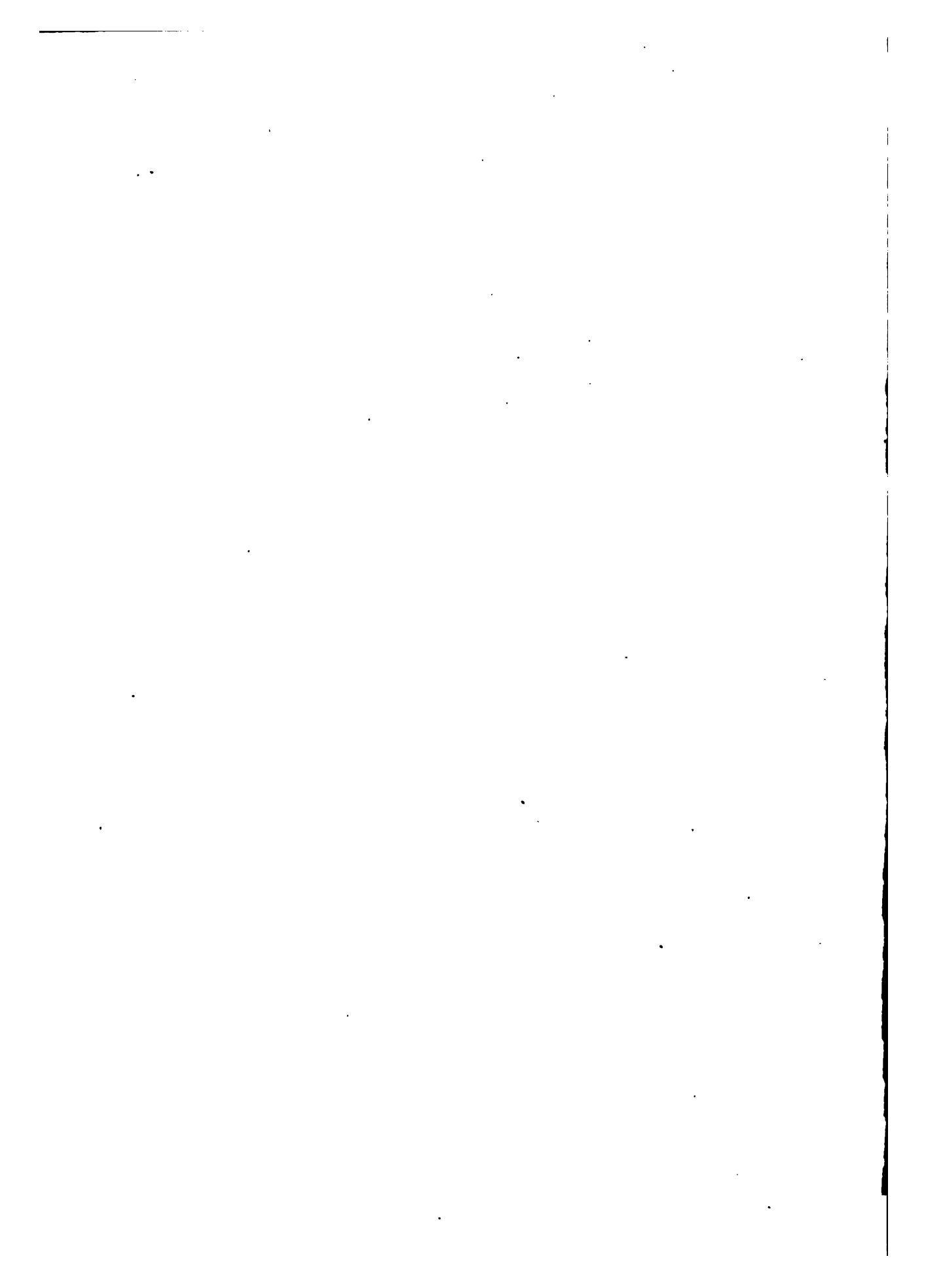
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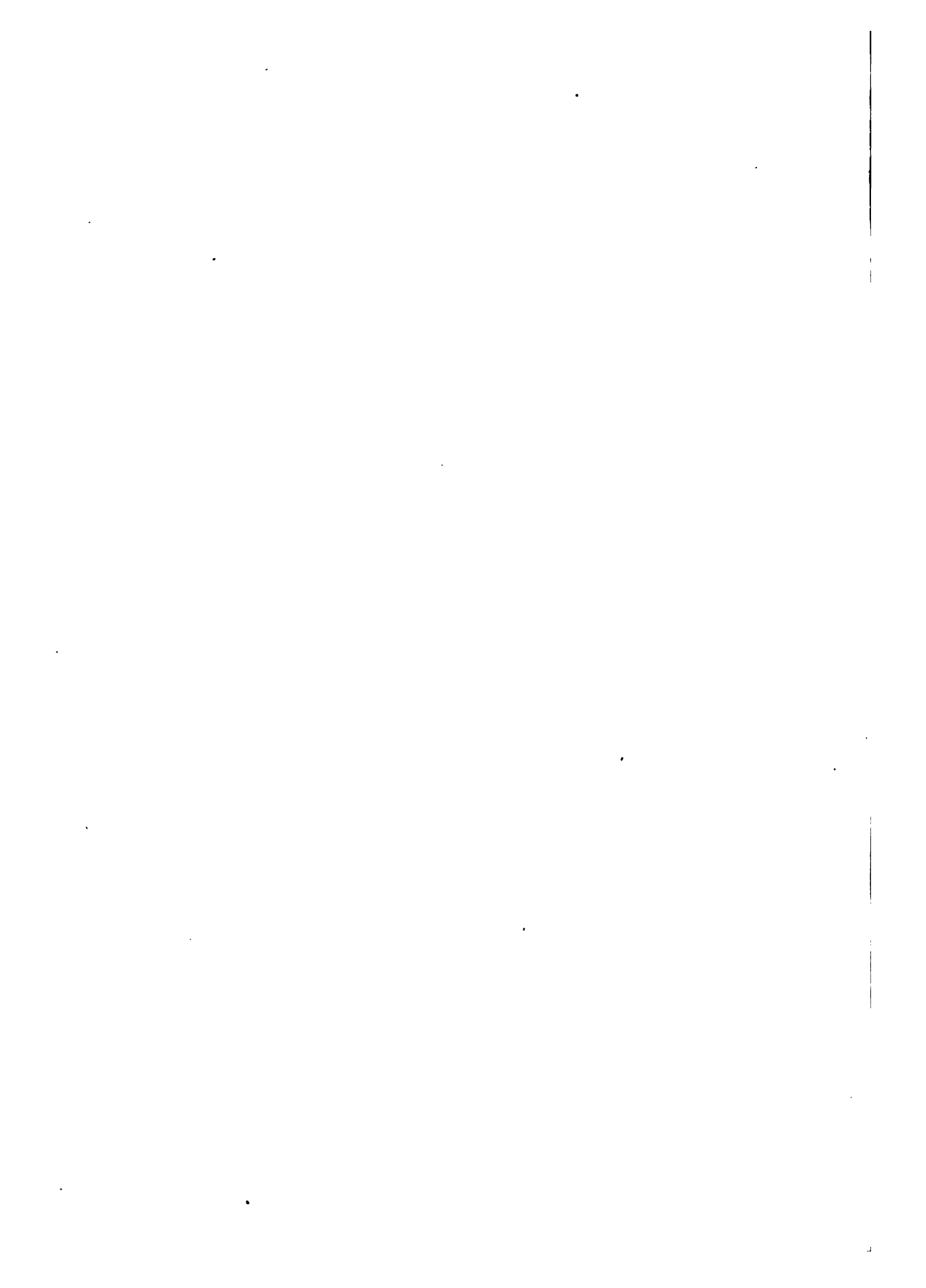
THE NABALOI DIALECT

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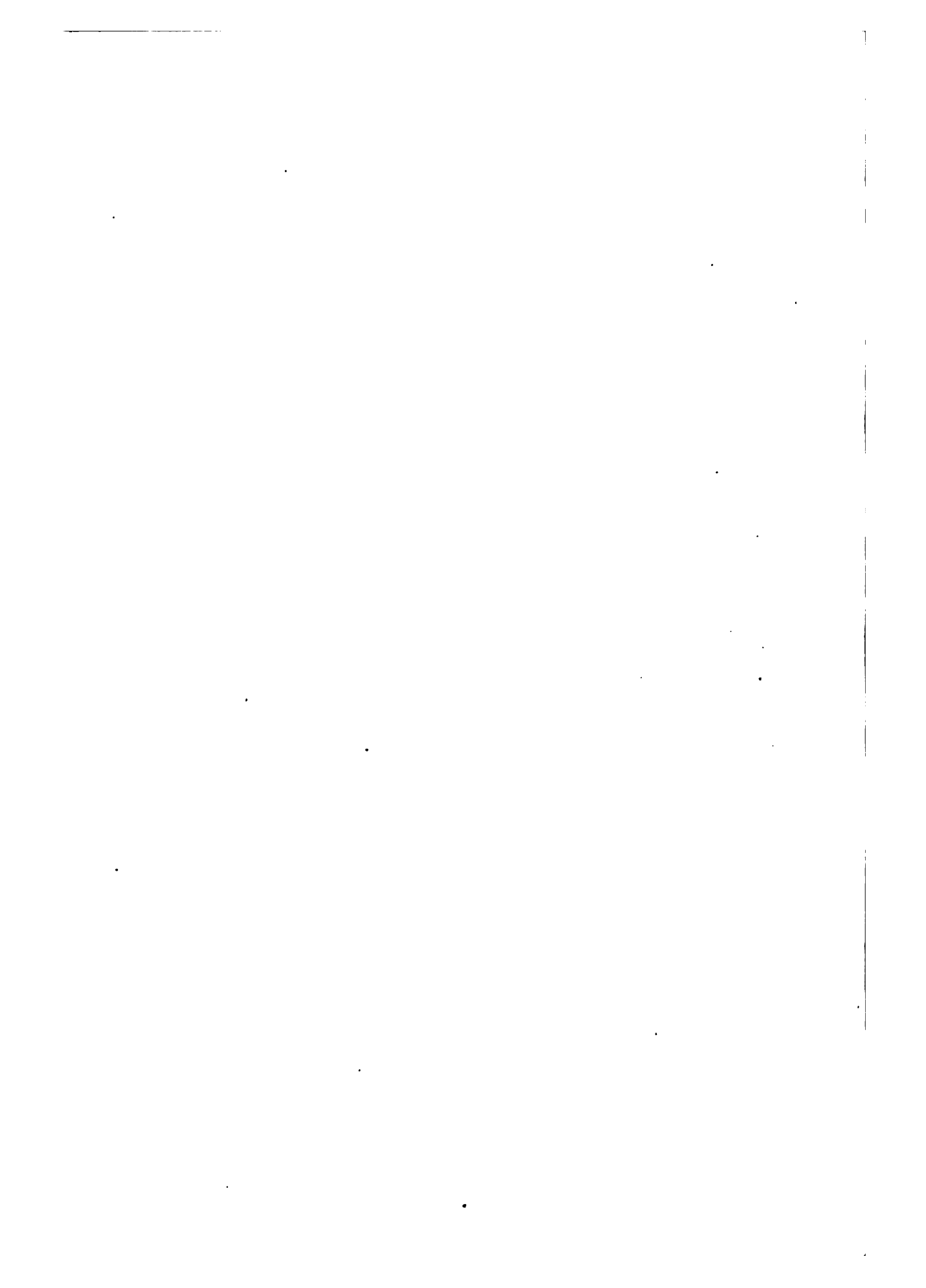
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THE NABALOI DIALECT



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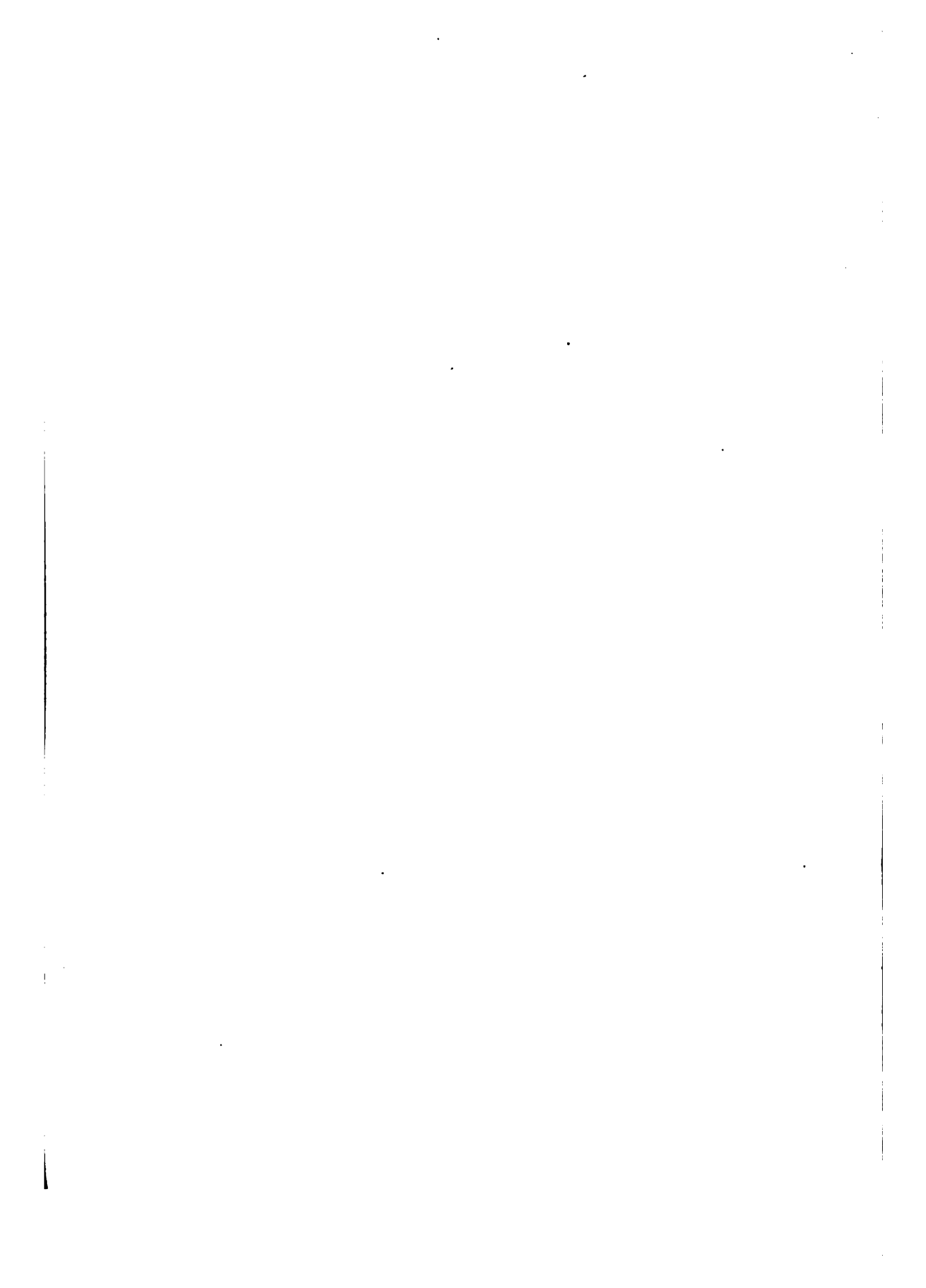
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
THE ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY,
Manila, October 31, 1904.

SIR: I have the honor to transmit two papers, one a grammar and vocabulary of the Nabaloi dialect of Benguet, by Otto Scheerer, the other a brief account of the Bataks of Palawan, by Edward Y. Miller, governor of Palawan. I recommend that these papers be published as Parts II and III of Volume II of the scientific studies edited by the Survey.

Very respectfully,

MERTON L. MILLER,
Acting Chief of The Ethnological Survey.

HON. DEAN C. WORCESTER,
Secretary of the Interior, Manila, P. I.



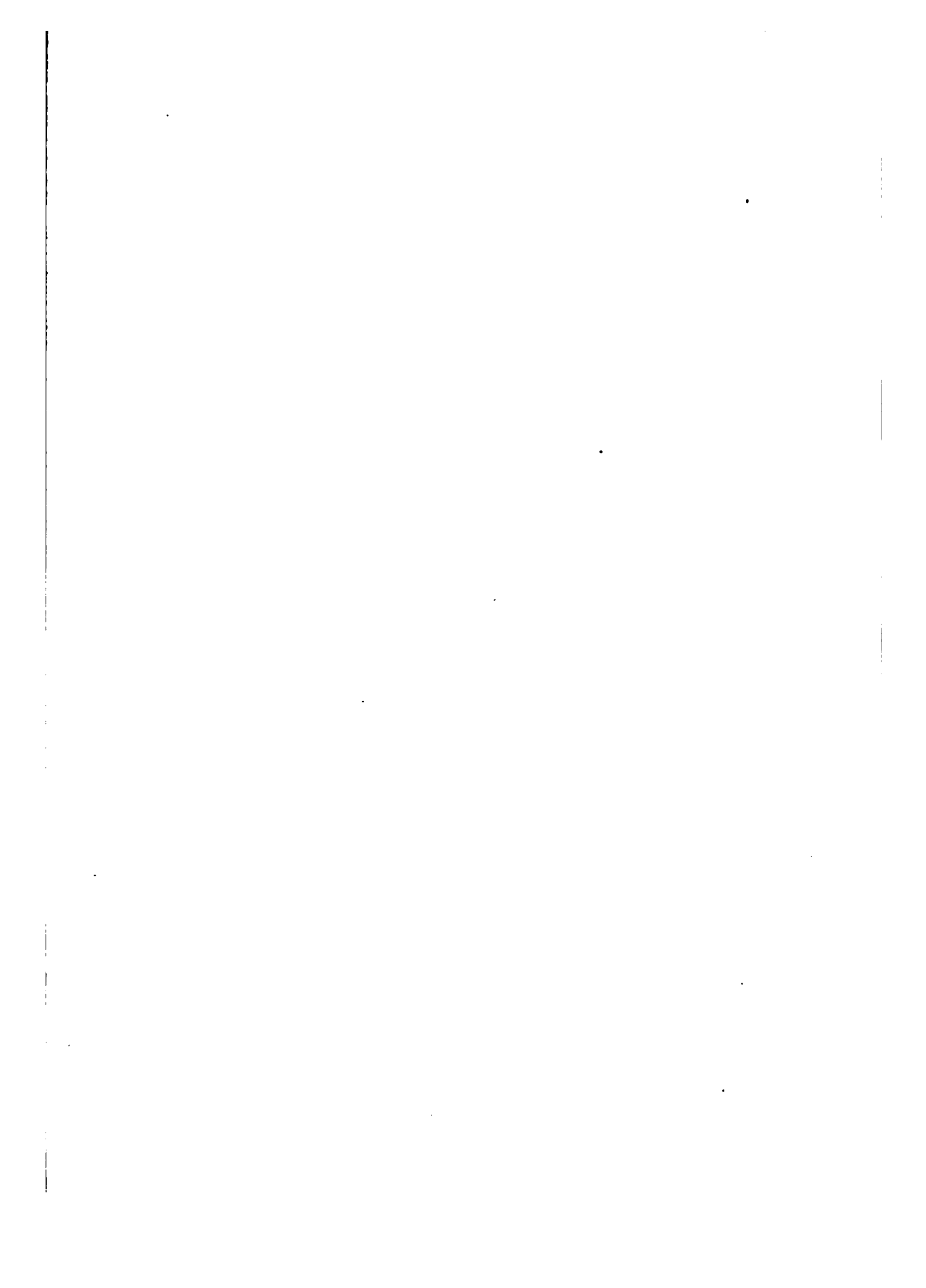
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P R E F A C E

Some time ago the Hon. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of the Interior for the Philippine Islands, put into my hands a bound volume containing 450 pages—partly printed, partly in blank—a full programme for the ethnological study which he desired me to write of the Ibaloi Igorot of northern Luzon. Adverse circumstances did not admit of my filling out more than one chapter of general information about this tribe in addition to the twenty-nine schedules which were designed to take in an extensive vocabulary of its dialect.

From a desire to work out at least the linguistic part of this study to the full extent of my knowledge, I afterwards wrote in Japan and dedicated to the distinguished gentleman just named a paper entitled "Notes on the Nabaloi Dialect," in which I reviewed in a methodical manner the pronunciation of the language and the different parts of speech, giving under each heading idiomatic examples and finishing with a short conversation and a few notes on Nabaloi music and singing.

Both manuscripts were compiled into one paper by Dr. Merton L. Miller, the Acting Chief of The Ethnological Survey for the Philippine Islands, who remitted the same to me for a final revision with many valuable suggestions. I have added a paper entitled "The Ibaloi Igorot seventy-five years ago," being the translation of an account of a Spanish expedition against this tribe in the year 1829 and taken from a work no longer easily to be obtained. This seemed to me to merit being brought to light again, as it is highly instructive on the past of the Ibaloi Igorot.

If the present memoir proves of interest I am sure this will be due to a great extent to the part taken in its completion by the excellent collaborators above mentioned. Complements like the pictures, the map, and other details (I mention only the much-to-be-welcomed spelling "Igorot" of The Ethnological Survey against "Igorrote" in my manuscripts) are indeed, as regards me, only "borrowed plumes."

OTTO SCHEERER.

Tokyo, *July, 1904.*

The thanks of The Ethnological Survey are due Mr. C. Everett Conant, of the Bureau of Public Lands, for looking over the manuscript of this paper. If Mr. Scheerer were in Manila he would be the first to express his obligation to Mr. Conant.



THE NABALOI DIALECT

THE IBALOI IGOROT

TRIBAL NAME

The tribe whose language is discussed in the following pages is not commonly known by a special name, but is designated generally by the comprehensive term "Igorot." Another favorite Spanish term for this and other Philippine mountain tribes who obstinately refused to be converted was "infeles"—that is, pagans. This latter term is, of course, in no sense a tribal designation, but merely includes in one great group the people of the Philippines who did not accept Christianity.

The term "Igorot" first occurs in the chronicles, in its original form "Ygolotes," as a designation for the mountain people of the then unknown hinterland of Pangasinan and Ilocos (to-day known as the provinces and districts of Benguet, Kaiapa, Amburayan, and Lepanto); subsequently its use extended, and it has often been applied without discrimination to any number of non-Christian mountain tribes of north Luzon or of Luzon in general. This enlarged use of the name—though not wrong, if only etymologically considered—is misleading and should be discontinued to avoid further confusion.

More careful authors have employed the terms "Benguetanos" and "Igorrotes of Benguet," which, while more precise, still fail to distinguish the tribe here under review as a unit from its congeners in and around that same province.¹

A native of Benguet, when asked by an outsider about his tribal connection, will answer, *Igudut-ak*—that is, "I am Igorot"—but let the same question be raised among natives from the south and others from the northwest of that province and it will elicit replies, *Ibaloi kame*—that is, "We are Ibaloi"—from the former, and *Kankanai kame*—that is, "We are Kankanai"—from the latter, in which replies a direct reference is made to the different dialects spoken by the two parties, namely, Nabaloi and Kankanai. I have therefore used the term Ibaloi

¹It will be readily seen that "Benguetanos," for the purposes of this study, includes both too much and too little. The term includes properly all the people of Benguet, though some belong to the group here under review and some do not. The same may be said of "Igorrotes of Benguet," a term which includes all the Igorot in the province, both those speaking the dialect here considered and others, but fails to include those of the same speech outside of Benguet.

Igorot as a clear and precise designation of that division of the Igorot who know themselves as Ibaloi and their language as Nabaloi.

The etymology of the words Ibaloi and Igorot is gathered from Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera's *Etimología de los Nombres de Razas de Filipinas* and is as follows:

Igorrote is composed of the root *golot* (mountain chain, in Tagalog) and the prefix *i* (dweller in, or people of) and means "mountaineer" (in German, *Bergassen*).

The same author says:

Iibaloy is the name of a dialect spoken by the Igorrotes, and this word, in Ilokano, signifies simply "language of strangers."

For further explanation Padre Carro's excellent *Vocabulario Iloco-Español*¹ gives us *baliu*, which is doubtless the same as *baloi*, meaning "the farther side of a river or of the sea," and *i-baliu*, or *tagu-baliu*, "stranger or person from beyond the seas," such as the Chinese or European.

CHINESE INFLUENCE

I have not been able to discover among the Ibaloi Igorot with whom I have been in contact any tradition to support the idea of their having come from somewhere beyond the seas; but a reference here suggests itself to the followers of the Chinese corsair Limahong, who, when besieged in 1657 by the Spaniards in his encampment at the mouth of the Agno River, Province of Pangasinan, made good his escape, according to the chronicles, by abandoning part of his troops, who took to the hills. "It is popularly supposed," says John Foreman in his book, *The Philippine Islands*, "that from these fugitives descends the race of people in that province [Pangasinan] still distinguishable by their oblique eyes and known by the name of Igorrote-Chinese."

There is surely nothing markedly Chinese in the bodily appearance of the Ibaloi Igorot nor, as far as my knowledge of Chinese goes, in their customs and religious ideas, which on the contrary I take as typically Philippine to such an extent that we may study in their light the past of the civilized lowlanders. Spanish authors have been inclined to see an indication of Chinese influence in the frequent occurrence in the Nabaloi dialect of the Spanish *ch*; this is indeed uncommon in the other Philippine tongues, which seem more apt generally to pronounce this sound as *ts*; but even the Ibalois, who, on the supposition that they are descendants of Chinese, and who have the sound *ch* in their vernacular, would most likely retain the same in an imported Chinese word, have in their vocabulary the word *i-tsa* for the Chinese word *cha* (tea) (see *ch*, p. 102), which is known all over the

¹ *Vocabulario Iloco-Español*, Fr. Andres Carro, Manila, 1888.

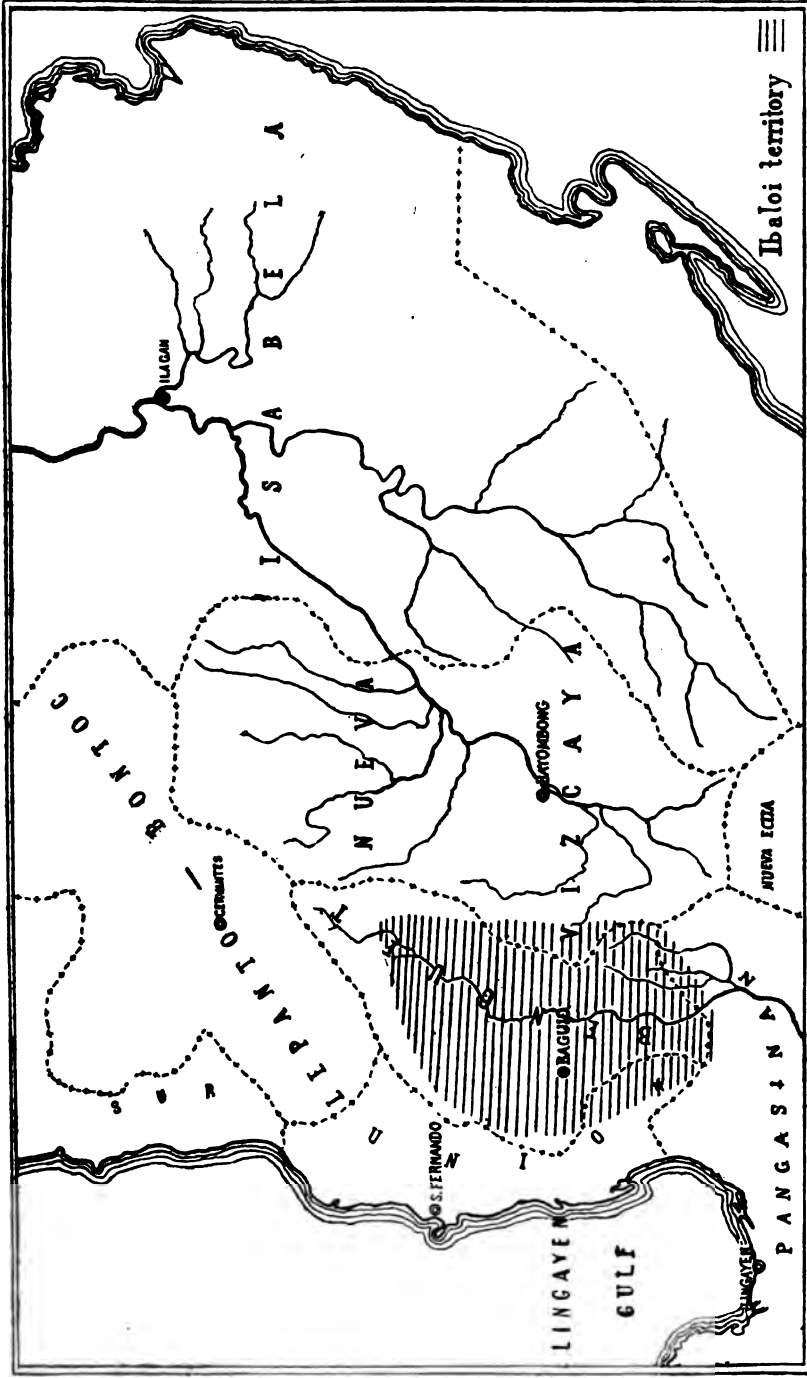


PLATE LXIII. SKETCH MAP, SECTION OF NORTHERN LUZON, SHOWING IBALOI DIALECT AREA.

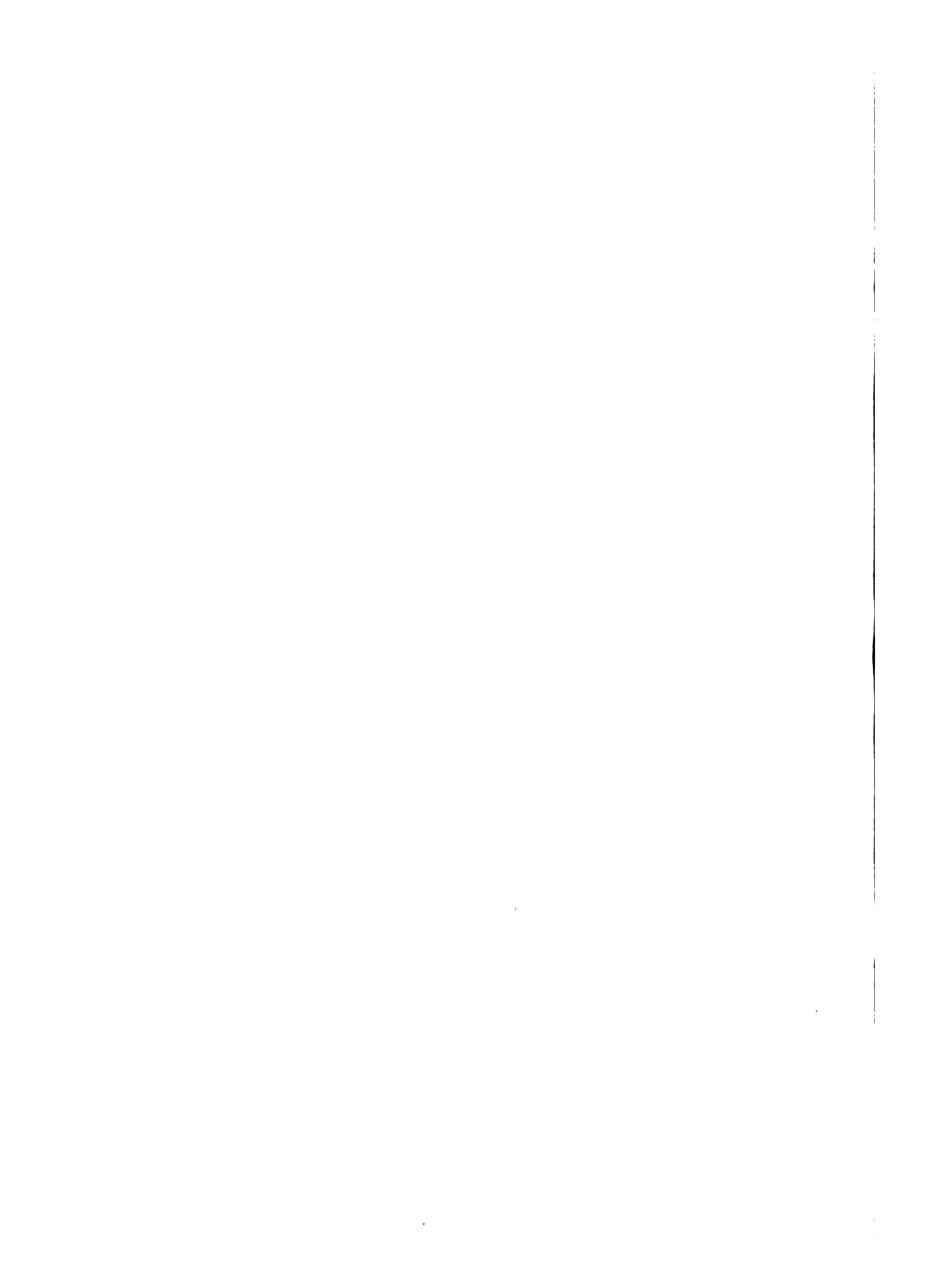




Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXIV. LUCBAN, A BARRIO OF BAGUIO VILLAGE.

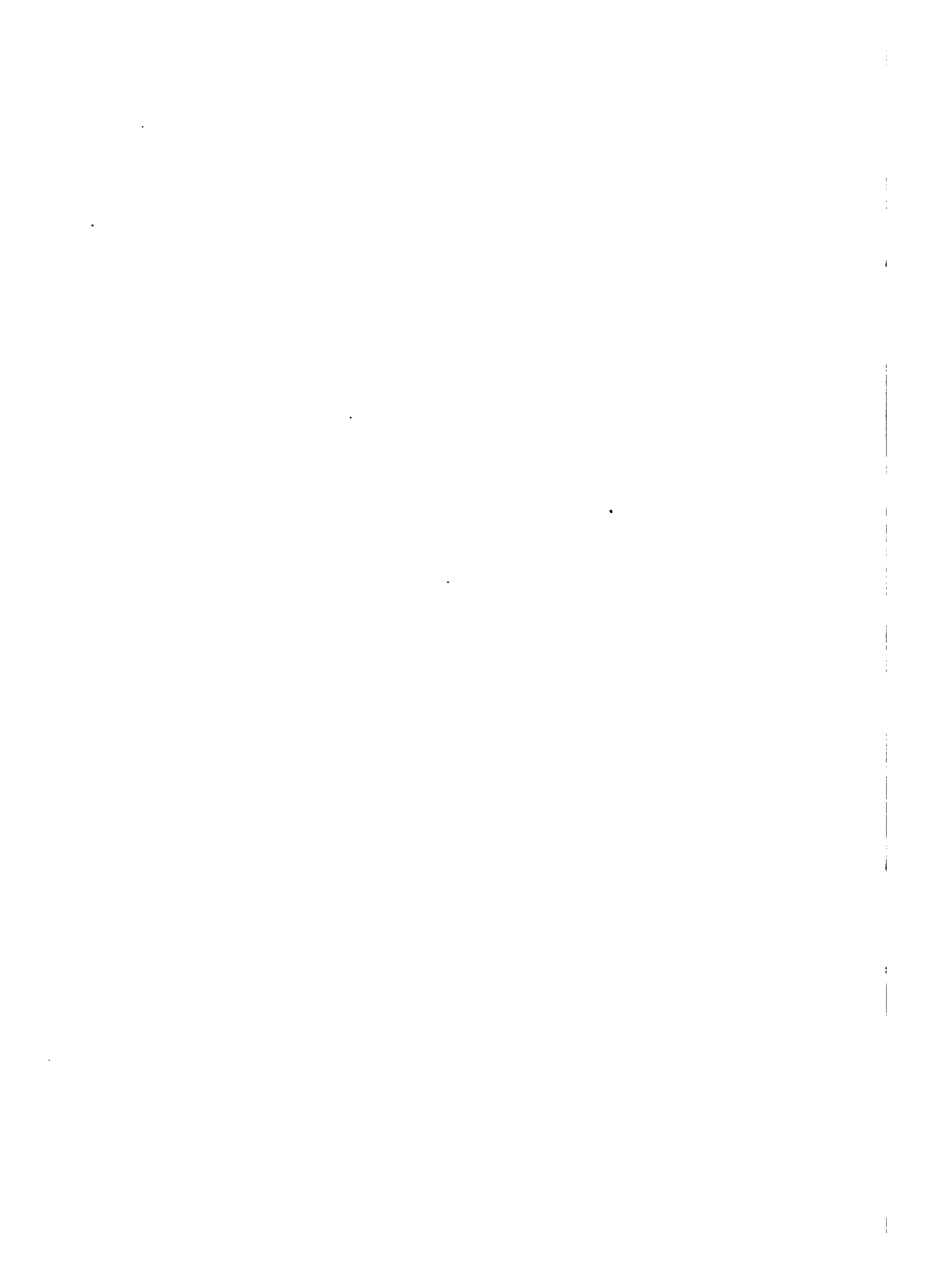




Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXV. RICE TERRACES, KABAYAN VILLAGE.





Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LXVI. RICE TERRACES AND MOUNTAIN-SIDE UNIRRIGATED GARDENS, KABAYAN VILLAGE.



Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXVII. RICE TERRACES, AGNO VILLAGE.



Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LXVIII. TYPICAL IBALOI DWELLING HAVING PINE-BOARD SIDES AND GRASS ROOF, PAKDAL BARRIO, BAGUIO VILLAGE.



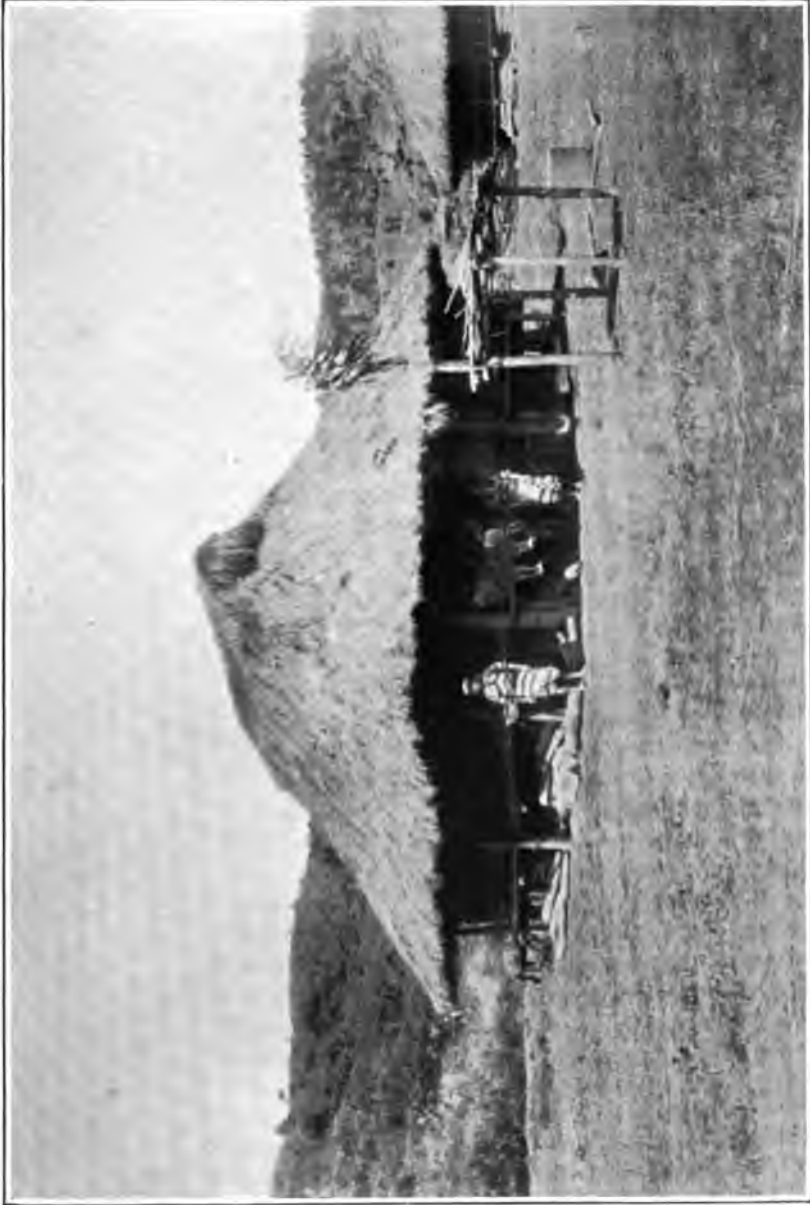


Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LXIX. TYPICAL IBALOI DWELLING, PICO VILLAGE. (CEREMONIAL PLATFORM IN FOREGROUND.)



Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXI. IBALOI WOMEN. (GIRL ON RIGHT SIDE.)



Islands. On the other hand, I have found among Ibaloi personal names some that are pure Japanese words, such as *karui* (in Japanese, "light," "not heavy") and *takai*¹ (in Japanese, "high," "dear"), and it is also interesting to note that one of the present headmen of the Igorot at Baguio, capital of Benguet, bears the very name of Limahong's lieutenant, Sioco, whom the old chronicler, Gaspar de San Agustin, states to have been a Japanese. Further investigation in this direction will show whether these are more than accidental similarities.

EXTENT OF TERRITORY

Several allusions have already been made to the location of the Ibalois and the extent of the territory occupied by them. The center of their territory is the country around Baguio, the present capital of the Province of Benguet; its limit in the north is fixed by the rancherias of Kabayan, Atok, and Kapangan; in the west by those of Sablan and Galiano; in the south by the rancherias situated in La Union and Pangasinan Provinces on the southern foothills of the Mangitkiran complex. From these last, however, must be excepted some that are peopled by Igorot, called by the Ibalois *bágu* (Ilocano, *bágo*, "newly arrived person," "newly converted Christian"), who, according to reports, were deported thither from farther north by the Spanish Government. The eastern limit would be the Agno River between Kabayan and San Nicolas but for some outlying Ibaloi settlements beyond the river in the district of Kaiapa.

The number of individuals composing the Ibaloi must be between 12,000 and 15,000. The total population of Benguet is 15,000, but it is doubtful if the number of Ibaloi Igorot living in La Union, Pangasinan, and Kaiapa would make up for the deduction to be made for Igorot residents in Benguet who are not Ibaloi.

For the surrounding tribes in whose midst the Ibaloi Igorot live they have the following names: Toward the northwest and the north, the *Kankanai* and *Katauguan* (Sp., Cataoan) Igorot; northeast and east, Igorot which the central body of Ibalois call *Búsol*; south, *Pangasinan*, *Idoko* (Ilocanos), and *Bagu*; west, *Idoko* (Ilocanos) and *Kankanai*. The term *búsol* is not so much a tribal name as a hateful designation of the head-hunting, cattle-thieving, and kidnaping Igorot living around and south of the mountain Data in what is sometimes called the *Kabusolan* or territory of the *Búsol*. With them the Ibalois have lived since olden times in deadly feud. (Compare the Ilocano words "búsol," hostility, and "kabúsor," he who wishes or does evil to another; enemy in war.) For the people living in the foothills and plains to the south and west, be they Christians or Igorot, the Ibaloi highlanders have also the general term *Ikaptangan*—that is, people living in the hot lowlands.

¹ Compare also Pangasinan atagey, "high."

It is, of course, easy to see that the various divisions of the Igorot are more closely related one to another than they are to other tribes, but they do not have the idea of belonging to a race or nation in the same precise and developed form in which both ideas are present in our mind. Their scant culture and their natural inclination to live an independent and retired life in their mountains render them rather dull in conceiving and indifferent in retaining ideas that go beyond their immediate horizon—a disposition that does not, however, prevent their being shrewd though silent observers of what they see of the outer world. They are conscious of a closer kinship with the neighboring Igorot tribes and also of consanguinity with the Christian lowlanders from whom they are separated, more than by anything else, by the fact that the latter have adopted Spanish faith and civilization. The diversity of dialects, which to some would seem a great barrier, does not appear so to them, for what indeed are all these dialects, nearly uniform in roots, construction, and mode of expression, but so many variations of one and the same melody? If to the racial ties thus conceived is added their consciousness of living in the same land and of having shared, at the hands of the Spanish conqueror, for hundreds of years, more or less the same fate as the other colored Christian or non-Christian inhabitants, we can not doubt that the Ibaloi Igorot also are waking up to the idea of nationality.

ELEMENTS IN NABALOI

Until authentic vocabularies have been gathered from the tribes to the north and east,¹ making possible a more comprehensive study of Nabaloi, it must suffice to state that this dialect is composed of three elements, viz, Pangasinan, Ilocano, and a third which may be genuine Nabaloi or which will more probably dissolve itself again upon further examination into various components. The first two elements appear more or less disfigured by the different idiomatic pronunciation of these Igorot; the Pangasinan *oala*, meaning "there is," which becomes *guara*, and the Ilocano *darayan*, a kind of banana, which becomes *charayan*, may serve as typical instances of the changes so occurring. The influence on Nabaloi of the language of Pangasinan, from which province the main body of the Ibaloi Igorot is separated nowadays by the little-inhabited mountain complex of the Mangitkiran Peak (Monte de Santo Tomás), seems to have taken place in a former period of probably closer proximity of the Ibaloi Igorot and the people of Pangasinan.²

The Ilocano language, on the other hand, appears still to continue feeding and modifying the Nabaloi; the Nabaloi dialect, in fact, is used

¹ Mr. Scheerer had not seen Volume I of the publications of the Survey when this was written. Volume I, *The Bontoc Igorot*, by Dr. Albert Ernest Jenks, contains exhaustive vocabularies of a people north of Benguet.

² See on this point *Historia de Ilocos*, by Isabelo de los Reyes, pt. II, pp. 169-171. (Account of a Spanish expedition against the Igorot.)

only within the tribe. In conversation with outsiders and on official occasions Ilocano is spoken, of which nearly all Benguet Igorot have a colloquial knowledge.

DIFFICULTY IN REDUCING THE DIALECT TO WRITING

Nabaloi, never before reduced to writing, presents to the student certain difficulties inasmuch as the pronunciation is often varying, hard to catch, and puzzling to fix by letter. These Igorot are moreover very careless speakers; the Nabaloi equivalent for "no," for instance, will be heard most often as *chi* or *nchi*, sometimes as *aishi*, but hardly ever in its true form *anchi*, which is the Pangasinan *andi*, same as Tagalog *hindi*.

Different valley communities have different terms for one and the same thing, and even within one rancheria or settlement inquiry for the name of a certain thing will often raise a controversy about the proper word. I point this out not in order to enhance but rather to limit the value of the vocabulary given herewith, in which doubtless there may be found many errors. I pretend to have cut only a narrow trail through the jungle of this hitherto unexplored territory, but by the light thus let in further investigation will be made easier and more satisfactory.

THE NABALOI ALPHABET¹

[Abbreviations: N., Nabaloi; I., Ilocano; P., Pangasinan; T., Tagalog; Sp., Spanish; Corr. Sp., corrupted from Spanish.]

PRONUNCIATION

Taking for a standard the Spanish alphabet, I begin with some remarks on the pronunciation, comparing at the same time the Nabaloi sounds and words with their equivalents in the neighboring dialects.

A

This vowel occurs—

- (1) Pure in *ama*, father; *alam-am*, a certain fern.
- (2) Corrupted into *e* or even *i* by hurried pronunciation in *Bana²ngan*, name of a locality; *asa²k*, to plant; ² *pita²k*, mire.
- (3) Obscured and scarcely audible in *ba²dat*, skin; *a²nchi*, no, is not; *a²mbulat*, heavy, and others.

B

- (1) Pure in *belbel*, pine tree; *bidin*, command.
- (2) With a short exploded *u* after it before *a*; *baka*, cow; *baknang*, rich man, headman; *matabá*, fat.
- (3) Passing into *f* as heard in the northern Ibaloi rancherias; *fúdai* for *búdai*, land, soil, earth, country; *falei* for *balei*, house. (See also under F.)

¹ Except where used to give prominence to letters in the alphabet, the use of italics throughout the text is confined to words of the Nabaloi dialect.

² In this, as in other cases later on, I render the Nabaloi root word indicative of an action by the English infinitive.

C

The Spanish linguo-dental *c* does not occur in Nabaloi. (For guttural *c* before *a*, *o*, and *u*, see under K.)

Ch

The existence in Nabaloi of this consonantal diphthong has served to strengthen Spanish authors in their opinion regarding the Chinese descent of the Igorot. A comparison with other native dialects shows this sound to be most often an idiomatic substitute for the *d* of the lowlanders, as already stated by Sinibaldo de Mas. It likewise replaces *l* or *r*:

<i>Chalan</i>	road	I. <i>dalan</i>	<i>Machim</i>	afternoon	I. <i>malém</i>
<i>Achálem</i>	deep	I. <i>adálelem</i>	<i>Chius</i>	God	Sp. Dios
<i>Chila</i>	tongue	I. <i>dila</i>	<i>Bilchi</i>	green	Sp. verde
<i>Chua</i>	two	I. <i>dua</i>	<i>Sampidáncho</i>	a town	Sp. San Fernando

(For *ch* instead of *r* see under R.)

D

Notwithstanding the substitution of *ch* for *d*, as illustrated in the preceding examples, there are found many words that retain the *d*: *Adirum*, shadow, ghost; *duungan*,¹ the space under the house; *angkádias*, light of weight; *andáyot*, hard; *andúfit*, soft; *dennet*, designation for a phase of the moon.

D in Nabaloi stands very often also, though not always, for *l* in Ilocano, Pangasinan, etc.: *Mabadín*, possible, to be able; I., *mabalin*; *Idoko*, I., Iloko; *dúpa*, face; P., *lupá*; *Manida*, T., Manila; *chukúdan*, bedstead; P., *dukúlan*.

The Ibalois further pronounce a *d* nearly always before the sound *y*: *Adyab*, to call; I., *ayab*; *dyo*, your; I., *yo*; *kabadyo*, horse; Sp., *caballo*. (See also under T.)

E

(1) The characteristic *e* in the Philippine dialects, fluctuating between *e* and *i*: *Akes*, belly; *guanet*, rope; *ngeras*, lazy. (See also under I.)

(2) Very open and broad, like the German *ä* in *exduk*, egg; *kerul*, thunder; *teul*, fool.

(3) Like the nasal *u* in English "lull," but a little nearer to the Spanish *e*; I render it by *α*: *U'ars*, shawl; *angul*, body; *maptang*, good; *abutang*, drunk. The name of the Province of Benguet is pronounced by the natives *Béng-ngæt*.²

F

Its use appears to be rather unsettled. While constant in some words—as, for example, *andúfit*, soft; *udúfen*, to accompany somebody, but *manúdup*, to go together—in others it is heard indifferently as *f* or *p*—for example, *apil* or *afil*, different; *Kupit* or *Kufit*, a female name.³ As a consequence of this tendency to interchange *p* and *f* the Ibalois share with other Philippine peoples the inclination to substitute *p* for the *f* in Spanish words. They say *Sampidáncho* for San Fernando, *pirino* for freno (bridle), etc. (See also under B and P.)

¹ *Duungan* (doongan), in antiquated Tagalog, a landing place for boats. It may be inferred herefrom that the Ibalois once lived and built their houses, in true Malay fashion, on the shores of navigable waters.

² *Béng-ngæt* (in Ilocano, entanglement), the act of somebody or some thing being caught in a thicket or a tight place.

³ Igorot rice wine is called "tapui" by the Ilocano, but "tafei" by the Igorot.

G

Always hard: *Pagei*, P., palai, paddy; *madigat*, difficult; *apag*, flesh, meat. A hard *g* also appears in Nabaloi before the diphthong *oa* or *ua* of the lowlanders, the *wa* of the modern Filipino orthography, thus: *Asagoa*, spouse, consort; T., *asawa*; *guanet*, rope; I., *uanet*; *gualo*, eight; T., *walo*; *guara*, there is; P., *oala*; in T., *wala*, there is not.¹

ng

This nasal occurs in Nabaloi the same as in all other Filipino dialects: *Ngeras*, lazy; *angalutoi*, slippery; *tungan*, to sit down; I., *tugau*.

H

This aspirate does not occur. For comparison I give some Tagalog words containing this letter and their Nabaloi equivalents:

Hangin (wind), *chagem*; kahoi (wood), *kiu*; buhoc (hair), *buek*.

I

I calls for no other remark than the general one applying to all Filipino dialects, that it is often not to be distinguished from *e*. A distinct *i* is heard in some words—as, for example, in *bidin*, command; *Pias*, name of a rancheria; *tag-in*, cold; *chiai*, here. An ambiguous *i* appears in *uling*, charcoal; *Bagto*, capital of Benguet; *Piko*, a rancheria; *palit*, dear, where the *i* might also be pronounced as a short, sharp *e*. (See also under E.)

J

This Spanish sound does not exist in Nabaloi. The name Juan is pronounced Kuan.

K

The common *k* is found in words like *toktok*, head; *kechil*, pig; *kame*, we; *kiu*, wood; *Kolkol*, a personal name. In other words it is pronounced like *ch* in Scottish loch, a sound for which I employ the letter *x*: *Ixamen*, mat; I., *ikamen*; *exduk*, egg; I., *itlog*; T., *iklog*; *achaxel*, much, many; I., *dakkél*, great, large; *asixen*, old man; P., *asiken*; *puxau*, hawk.

L

Pronounced as in Spanish; *Malinas*, clear; *malukon*, pregnant; *chala*, blood; *chila*, tongue; *antóleng*, black. (See also under D and R.)

LL

This Spanish sound does not exist in Nabaloi. In pronouncing Spanish words containing it the Ibaloi convert it into *dy*: Sp., *silla*, *sildya*.

M, N

Pronounced in the ordinary way.

Ñ

This Spanish letter does not occur.

O

Sometimes a pure *o*, as in *andayot*, hard; *toktok*, head; *ootik*, small, etc. In other words it passes into *u*—for example, *Bagto*, capital of Benguet; *antoleng*, black; *aso*, dog.²

¹ It may be noted that the same difference in spelling is found in the old Spanish authors; Gaspar de San Agustín writes *Limasagua* for *Limasaoa* and *Tanaguan* for *Tanauan*. In Murga we find *timagua* for *timawa*, but *Vava* for *Guagua* in Mas.

² It should be noticed that *x* is used to indicate the third sound given under E.

P

While invariable in some cases, as in *palit*, dear; *páltog*, gun; *pisus*, Sp., peso: in others it passes into *f*, as shown under that letter.

Q

This letter is not used in writing Nabaloi.

R

Pronounced with the tongue and rather softly: *Era*, they; *marikit*, pretty. Note also the following letter changes: *Chala*, blood; I., *dara*; *díros*, clock, watch: Sp., *reloj*; *chinggol*, quarrel; I., *ringgor*; *gícha*, war; Sp., *guerra*; *uling*, charcoal: P., *uring*; *kuldyo*, mail; Sp., *correo*; *Alingay*, a town; I., *Aringay*; *diraldyo*, newspaper; Sp., *diario*. (See also under L and (h).)

S

Sharp in *kosipos*, to roll up; *asas*, to see; *chaschasan*, peel, etc. Soft in *sudat*, to write; *síged*, well, right, and others.

T

Pronounced as ordinarily, though it is often not readily distinguished from *d* by an European ear.

U

Short in *nutnut*, to talk; *kadut*, to tie, etc.; long in *bunu*, to kill; *unas*, sugar cane, etc.

V, W, X, Y, Z

For *v* and *y* see under G and D, respectively. The other sounds do not occur, excepting perhaps *v*, which approaches the soft Nabaloi *b*, and *x*, which is used to represent the second sound given under K.

DIPHTHONGS

eu

A broad *e* joined to a short *u*: *Badéu*, song; *Aléu-éu*, a personal name, etc.

ei

Sounds like the diphthong in English *they*, and takes the place of the Ilokano *ai*: *Atei*, dead; *altei*, liver; *balei*, house; *pagci*, paddy.

ou

A long hollow *u*. This sound corresponds to the *ao* in lowland dialects: *Akou*, sun, day; T., *arao*; *payou*, rice field; *irou*, a big snake; *Palou*, name of a locality; *tapou*, top of mountain; I., *tapao*.

au

Like *ow* in English *cow*: *Puzau*, hawk; *talau*, star; *kalau*, a bird.

oi

Like the diphthong in English *coy*: *Angulutoi*, slippery; *Nabaloi*, name of this dialect, etc.

HIATUS; TRANSPOSITION OF VOWELS

There are in Nabaloi, as in Ilocano, certain words the correct pronunciation of which requires a distinct hiatus to be interposed between two syllables. Of this kind are: *Tag-in*, cold; *Pináu-an*, *Aléu-éu*, *Kam-ol*, three personal names; *bulbul-ó*, butterfly; *alam-am*, a fern; *un-an*, to go to see.

The hiatus in question is like the one we make in English in such a word as tick-tack.

It may be remarked finally that there are to be found in Nabaloi examples of that curious transposition of vowels within one word that is met with also in Ilocano and other native dialects. By a change of this kind the word *ambúlinget*, dark, for instance, will be heard as *ambílunget*, and others similarly. A certain author has seen in this capriciousness in speaking one of the causes of the great variety of Philippine dialects.

SIGNS EMPLOYED

The two sounds fluctuating—the one between *e* and *i* and the other between *o* and *u*, for each of which the old Philippine alphabets had only one character—I shall not distinguish by special signs but write words containing them as I have heard them.¹

I discard further the distinction in writing between the first and second sounds under A, between the three kinds of C, and between the first and second sounds under E, because, being influenced by the neighboring dialects, they become more or less distinct according to the geographical position of each rancheria. The examples given may suffice to illustrate them.

Lastly, the difference between sharp and soft *s* and long and short *u* is not so excessive as to render diacritical marks necessary.

There remain only three special sounds to be considered: First, that which the Spaniards, finding it in all dialects of these Islands, rendered by *ñg*, *ng̃*, or *ng*. Leaving aside the much-debated question how it can be represented properly for popular, practical use, I retain in this study the simplest Spanish form of writing the sound *ng*.² The two other sounds

¹Rizal repudiates for Tagalog orthography the use of the *e* altogether, which he says was introduced by foreign writers. He admits only the *i* with two values—*i* in the middle of a word (Spanish *i*) and *i* in a final syllable a little more open, like *y* in English "carry," "fluently"—that is, a sound between *e* and *i*. Of *u* he similarly says that in the middle of a word it sounds like the Spanish *u*, but that it opens a little and takes an intermediate sound between *o* and *u* in final syllables, a fact which, as in the case of *e* and *i*, leads some to believe that the Filipinos employed *o* and *u* indifferently. Words with two *o*'s of the intermediate sound, as *tutoo*, *poon*, etc., he pronounces to contain really only a long final *u*. He admits therefore the letter *o* only for final syllables, giving it the value of *ou*—that is, darker than the Italian *o*.

²In passing I will only point out that the sign *ñ* avoids the drawback which led Rizal to admit reluctantly the old Spanish *ñg* instead of the *ñ̃* proposed by him, viz, it does not destroy the character of the assimilated particle *na* in contractions like *Hariñ bata* for *Hari na bata*.

[The author proposed to adopt the character *ñ* in place of *ng*, but, in view of the fact that there is not general agreement as to the wisdom of this course and also because the character *ng* is well understood, it has seemed best for the present to represent the sound by *ng*.—ED.]

are the ones described under E^s and the palatal fricative mentioned under K. As both are constantly used and clearly heard they merit distinctive signs, and I give them, the first with *α* and the second with *x* (Association Phonétique Internationale).

ROOTS AND PARTICLES

Nabaloi, like all Philippine dialects, is agglutinative, built up of roots and particles.

By roots I mean here simply the words that convey a certain definite and independent idea—for example, *apui*, fire; *ootik*, little; *bunu*, to kill; *chua*, two. Particles I call here certain syllables which, taken by themselves, have no meaning whatever and therefore never occur singly in the sentence and which become significative only when agglutinated to roots or compound words the meaning of which they modify in a variety of ways. Agglutinative particles are either prefixed or infix or suffixed. Some examples will illustrate their use:

Prefix *maka*, meaningless if by itself, has the office of adding the idea "owner" to the sense embodied in the stem. Taking, for instance, the word *balei*, house, we get *makabalei*, owner of house; *makakabadyo*, owner of horse, and so on.

Infix *in* serves to make the past tense of verbal forms. Stem: *Tag-in*, cold; *antag-in*, to become cold; *t-im-ag-in*, to have become cold. In this case the *n* of infix *in* becomes *m* for reasons of idiomatic pronunciation.

Suffix *an* denotes locality. Root: *Apui*, fire; *apuian*, fireplace.

The number of particles a stem may take is not limited to one. For instance:

Root, *Puetang*, WARMTH, HEAT

+ Prefix <i>ka</i> and suffix <i>an</i> ¹	<i>ka-p(ue)tang-an</i>	Hot territory.
+ Prefix <i>i</i>	<i>I-ka-p'tang-an</i>	A person having his home in the hot territory.

By certain particles a verbal force is given to nouns. For example, to the compound word *apuian*, fireplace, the idea of "to use as" is superadded by the prefix *pan*.

Thus—

<i>Saidiai</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>panapuian</i>	<i>mo</i>
(Lit.: This here	the	use as fireplace	thine)

Would mean:

Let this be your fireplace; (or, briefly) make your fire here.

The same sentence is rendered as a statement in the past tense by infixing into *panapuian* the particle *in*:

¹ *Ka . . . an* denote, among other things, the whole extent in which the idea expressed by the root prevails. The above is an instance of this idea in concrete sense; for abstract ideas compare *T*, layà, free; *ka-laya-an*, freedom.

Suidiai e pinanapuian mo

(Lit.: This here the used as fireplace thine)

This is the place that served you to make fire; (or) you made your fire here.

The notable point in this form is that it expresses both a thing and an action, and that with this duality in sense accords its grammatical appearance. It is preceded by the article like a noun and it can be modified as to time like a verb. We can not then bring it justly under either of these grammatical categories of ours, and the less we try to do so the sooner we enter into the spirit of these idioms.¹ (Compare "The verb," p. 126.)

THE ARTICLE

DEFINITE

The definite article, used for singular and plural and for both genders, is *e*, also pronounced *i* (Spanish pronunciation).

The declension of a noun with the definite article in English would appear in Nabaloi as follows:²

Nominative case: *e daxi*, the man; *e balei*, the house.
 Possessive case: *ne daxi*, of the man; *ne balei*, of the house.
 Objective case: $\begin{cases} sun daxi, to the man;^3 \\ e daxi, the man; \\ chi balei, to the house.^3 \\ e balei, the house. \end{cases}$

In speaking of persons the special article *si* is used with their personal names and also with words which express kinship, as *ama*, father; *ina*, mother; *agi*, brother, sister. It is likewise used with the pronouns *iai*, this, and *iman*, that, if they refer to persons.

The different cases are shown in the following example:

Nominative case: *si Mateo*.
 Possessive case: *nan Mateo* or *ne Mateo*.
 Objective case: *sun* or *sikan Mateo*; *si Mateo*.

Si, if following a vowel, is generally abbreviated to *s'* and pronounced as a suffix to the word preceding it. (See examples.)

INDEFINITE

The indefinite article is *saxei*, one, joined to the noun by the particle *a*. It forms the following cases:

Nominative case: *saxei a anak*, a child.
 Possessive case: *ne saxei a anak*, of a child.
 Objective case: $\begin{cases} sun saxei a anak, to a child. \\ saxei a anak, a child. \end{cases}$

¹ It may not be superfluous to point out here that although I take our grammatical categories as a ground plan for these notes and continually use terms taken from our grammar I use them because they are familiar and not because grammatical terms used in a European language fit exactly a Malayan dialect like Nabaloi.

² The word "declension" is used here merely as a matter of convenience. Strictly speaking, a word which does not change in form to make the different cases is not declined.

³ The dative particle *sun* is used only for living beings. With inanimate things this case generally bears upon relations as to space and is expressed by prepositions like *chi* and others.

Examples

<i>Akotai e dari.¹</i>	The man is bad.
<i>Akuyang e kiu.</i>	The tree is high.
<i>Baknang si Mateo.</i>	Mateo is a headman (or rich man).
<i>Si Mateo e baknang.</i>	Mateo is the headman.
<i>Abadeg e balei ni Kastil.</i>	The house of the Spaniard is big.
<i>Achaxel e anak nan Kuan.</i>	Many are the children of Juan.
<i>Anaxan-ko e puxil sun aso.</i>	I have given the bone to the dog.
<i>Inaspol-ko's capitan.</i>	I have met the capitan (headman).
<i>Guara's amam?</i>	Is your father present?
<i>(Hulong chi balei nan Mateo iai.</i>	These boards belong to the house of Mateo.
<i>Balei nan Mateo.</i>	The house of Mateo.
<i>Balei-Matco.</i>	Mateo's house.
<i>Mapteng si iai.</i>	This (person) is good.
<i>Saidiai e balei ne sazei a abiteg.</i>	This is a house of a poor man.
<i>Iaxan-mo e sudat sun sazei a igudut.</i>	Give the letter to an Igorot.
<i>Insas-ko e bii.</i>	I have seen the woman (women).
<i>Guara insas-ko'n bii.</i>	I have seen women.
<i>Guara insas-ko chua'n bii.</i>	I have seen two women.
<i>Insas-ko achum a bii.</i>	I have seen some women.
<i>Achaxel e bii'n insas-ko.</i>	Many were the women I saw.

The emphasis obtained for "many" in the last sentence by putting *achaxel* at the beginning and the definite article immediately after is an idiomatic construction often to be rendered by such relative phrases of ours as "it is he who," etc. For instance:

<i>Sikak e kinilbig-to.</i>	It is I who was struck by him.
<i>Saidiai e cha kapan sungura.</i>	This is the direction they are taking.
<i>Sikam e angala ne kabadyo.</i>	It is you who have been the bringer of the horse.

THE NOUN

The Nabaloi noun has no distinctive forms to denote number or gender.

The plural, if not left to be understood from the context, is expressed by such words as *amin*, all; *achum*, some; *achaxel*, many, etc. There are, however, in use some nouns, mostly belonging to the Ilocano dialect, that form a plural by reduplication of the first syllable plus the following consonant; for example: *Balei*, house; *bal-balei*, houses; *ili*, town; *il-ili*, towns; *bilin*, command, order; *bil-bilin*, commands, orders.

To express the gender in the case of animals the words *daxi*, man,

¹ Lit.: "Bad the man." It is well to point out here that Nabaloi entirely lacks the auxiliary verb "to be," and that the idea of it is embodied in the noun (substantive, pronoun, adjective). Instances of this, besides above examples, will occur continually in these notes. (See under "The adjective.")

and *bii*, woman, or *kadastian* and *kabadyan* are made use of—*e asu'n darsi*, the dog; *e asu'n bii*, the bitch. Horse and mare are *kabadyo* and *kabadyan*;¹ the bull and the cow of the carabao, *nuang a kadastian* and *nuang a kabadyan*.

In a few cases distinct words are used for the male and female animals, as: Male dog, *asu*; female dog, *tina*; male cat, *pusa*; female cat, *tina*; male deer, *mak-bet*; female deer, *ku-bi-lan*.

USE OF FEW, MANY, ALL, SOME, NO, ANOTHER

The following examples show the uses of the forms few, many, all, some, no, another, right, left, both, and are given here because a part of them show how the plural idea is expressed:

<i>Saxei a t6o</i>	One man	<i>Apil a asu</i>	Another dog
<i>Chua'n t6o</i>	Two men	<i>Saxei a pana</i>	One arrow
<i>Taddo t6o</i>	Three men	<i>Chua'n pana</i>	Two arrows
<i>Achaxael a t6o</i>	Many men	<i>Taddo pana</i>	Three arrows
<i>Amin a t6o</i>	All the men	<i>O6tik a pana</i>	Few arrows
<i>Achum a t6o</i>	Some men	<i>Achaxael a pana</i>	Many arrows
<i>Anchi t6o</i>	No man	<i>Amin a pana</i>	All the arrows
<i>Apil a t6o</i>	Another man	<i>Achum a pana</i>	Some arrows
<i>Saxei a bii</i>	One woman	<i>Anchi pana</i>	No arrow
<i>Chua'n bii</i>	Two women	<i>Apil a pana</i>	Another arrow
<i>Taddo bii</i>	Three women	<i>Saxei a sambilacho</i>	One hat
<i>O6tik a bii</i>	Few women	<i>Chua'n sambilacho</i>	Two hats
<i>Achaxael a bii</i>	Many women	<i>Taddo sambilacho</i>	Three hats
<i>Amin a bii</i>	All the women	<i>O6tik a sambilacho</i>	Few hats
<i>Achum a bii</i>	Some women	<i>Achaxael a sambila-</i>	Many hats
<i>Anchi bii</i>	No woman	<i>cho</i>	
<i>Apil a bii</i>	Another woman	<i>Amin a sambilacho</i>	All the hats
<i>Saxei a a6nak</i>	One boy	<i>Achum a sambilacho</i>	Some hats
<i>Chua'n a6nak</i>	Two boys	<i>Anchi sambilacho</i>	No hat
<i>Taddo a6nak</i>	Three boys	<i>Apil a sambilacho</i>	Another hat
<i>O6tik a a6nak</i>	Few boys	<i>Saxei a bulong</i>	One leaf
<i>Achaxael a a6nak</i>	Many boys	<i>Chua'n bulong</i>	Two leaves
<i>Amin a a6nak</i>	All the boys	<i>Taddo bulong</i>	Three leaves
<i>Achum a a6nak</i>	Some boys	<i>O6tik a bulong</i>	Few leaves
<i>Anchi a6nak</i>	No boy	<i>Achaxael a bulong</i>	Many leaves
<i>Apil a a6nak</i>	Another boy	<i>Amin a bulong</i>	All the leaves
<i>Saxei a asu</i>	One dog	<i>Saxei a bato</i>	One stone
<i>Chua'n asu</i>	Two dogs	<i>Chua'n bato</i>	Two stones
<i>Taddo asu</i>	Three dogs	<i>Taddo bato</i>	Three stones
<i>Achaxael a asu</i>	Many dogs	<i>O6tik a bato</i>	Few stones
<i>Amin a asu</i>	All the dogs	<i>Achaxael a bato</i>	Many stones
<i>Achum a asu</i>	Some dogs	<i>Amin a bato</i>	All the stones
<i>Anchi a asu</i>	No dog		

¹The similarity in sound of these two words is accidental. *Kabadyo* is the Spanish "caballo;" *Kabadyan*, on the contrary, is composed of the two particles *ka* and *an* and of what is left as a root *bat*; Ilocano, *habai*, woman. This corresponds with the composition of *kadastian*, root *darsi*, man; T., *lalaki*.

Adjectives are given a negative sense with the help of the particle *ag*. For example: *Ag-an-tárem*, not sharp, blunt; *ag-adúum*, not ripe, unripe, etc.

An adjective is intensified in meaning by the use of the expression *na chile* or *nga chile*, thus: *Ampetang*, warm; *ampetang na chile*, very warm.

Comparison is expressed as follows: *Chi amin á balei*, of all the houses; *suidiai e ampetang* or *suidiai e ampetang na chile*, this is the warm one (or the warmest).

THE NOUN AND THE ADJECTIVE

Examples

<i>Bado iai a balei.</i>	This house is new.
<i>Sadiai e badong balei.</i>	This here is the new house.
<i>Itúchom sazei a bado a balei.</i>	Show me a new house.
<i>Twai kaanan ne badong balei?</i>	Where is the site of the new house?
<i>Chinan e badong balei?</i>	Which is the new house?
<i>Sepai e makabalei niai?</i> ¹	Who is the owner of this house?
<i>Bado da iai a balei; niman achaan.</i>	This house was new; now it is old.
<i>Adufok iman a balei.</i>	That house is rotten.
<i>Dimufok iman a balei.</i>	That house has become rotten.
<i>Naka aman dagá ne sazei a balei.</i>	I am building a house.
<i>Guara anan era ne sazei a balei abadeg</i> <i>tan sazei a ootik.</i>	They have a large house and a small one.
<i>Anchi balei-to.</i>	He has no house.
<i>Anchi balei-to?</i>	Has he no house?
<i>Anchi.</i>	He has none.
<i>Guara.</i>	He has.
<i>Anchi abadeg a balei.</i>	} There is no big house.
<i>Anchi sazei a balei abadeg.</i>	
<i>Aligoang abadeg e balei.</i>	The house is not big.
<i>Guara balei-to.</i>	Has he a house?
<i>Guara'd balei-to?</i>	Is he in his house?
<i>Guara era'd balei-to?</i>	Are they in his house?
<i>Guara's aman chi balei-to?</i>	Is your father in his house?
<i>Guara.</i>	He is.
<i>Anchi.</i>	He is not.
<i>Guara anan balei-mo abadeg?</i>	Have you a big house?
<i>Pian ko tumkalen suta balei dya ootik.</i>	I wish to buy that small house (that house which is small).
<i>Atoleng e kabadyok.</i>	My horse is black.
<i>Amputt e kabadyo-to.</i>	His horse is white.
<i>Abateg e taad-ko.</i>	My knife is large.
<i>Oótik e taad-to.</i>	His knife is small.
<i>Matáchim e taad-to.</i>	His knife is sharp.
<i>Taad-to ni Kuan ag-antárem.</i>	John's knife is dull (Lit.: Knife his of John is dull).
<i>Acháan e abong-me.</i>	Our hut is old.

¹ *Niai (ne iai)*, genitive of *iai*, this.

<i>Bado e balei-mo.</i>	Your house is new.
<i>Oótik e balei-cha.</i>	Their houses are small.
<i>Abateg e balei-cha.</i>	Their houses are large.
<i>Ináktelak.</i>	I am cold.
<i>Ináktel-ka nuntan.</i>	You were cold.
<i>Sikáto maktél asaném.</i>	He will be cold.
<i>Ampetáng-ak.</i>	I am warm.
<i>Ampetáng-ka nuntan.</i>	You were warm.
<i>Sikáto ampetáng asanem.</i>	He will be warm.
<i>Akayáng-ak.</i>	I am tall.
<i>Akayáng-ka nuntan.</i>	You were tall.
<i>E aanak makayáng ammo (seemingly).</i>	The boy will be tall.
<i>Akayáng e kíou.</i>	The tree is tall.
<i>Akayáng e kabadyo.</i>	The horse is high.
<i>Akayáng e balei.</i>	The house is high.
<i>Akayáng e bato.</i>	The rock is high.
<i>Malagua e balei.</i>	The house is large.
<i>Oótik e balei.</i>	The house is small.
<i>Ambánao e kadúbong.</i>	The hat is large.
<i>Akayáng é tíid (the steep).</i>	The hill is high.
<i>Antiæ e tíid.</i>	The hill is low.
<i>Akayáng e chuntuk.</i>	The mountain is high.
<i>Oótik e chuntuk.</i>	The mountain is low.

THE PRONOUN

PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE

Genders are not distinguished by different forms. The personal pronoun appears in two forms:

INDEPENDENT FORMS

(1) The independent forms, which can be used by themselves alone to designate the corresponding persons:

Form	First person	Second person	Third person
Singular -----	sikak	sikam	sikáto
Plural -----	{sikame (exclusive) {sikatayo (inclusive)	}sikayo	{sikara ¹ {si era

¹ P., sikara.

The difference between *sikame* and *sikatayo* consists in that the latter includes besides the speaker and his party the party addressed, while the former excludes the party addressed. Accordingly *sikame* will be heard, for instance, in a respectful report to a superior; *sikatayo*, on the contrary, in familiar talk among equals. The same propriety in speaking is found in Ilocano, Tagalog, etc., but is especially noteworthy among Igorot who otherwise address everybody, high or low, with *sikam* (thou), after the fashion of the Tyrolese mountaineers.

These pronouns form the genitive with *nan* and the dative with *sun*. Thus: *Nan nikam*, *sun nikáto*, etc.; *si era*, however, drops the *si* in these cases: *Nan era*, *sun era*. From the following examples it will be seen that the pronoun carries with it, like the noun and the adjective, the meaning of "to be:"

Examples

<i>Sikak e makaamta.</i>	I am the one who takes care (of the thing spoken about).
<i>Sepai e angidai niai?</i>	Who brought this?
<i>Sikame.</i>	We (did).
<i>Inaako sun nikáto.</i>	I have seen him.
<i>Ubing ko si era.</i>	They are my servants.
<i>Sepai sikam?</i>	Who are you?

FORMS USED ONLY IN COMPOSITION

(2) The forms used only joined to other words, the monosyllabic pronouns thus becoming all but affixes:

Form	First person	Second person	Third person
Singular.....	ak ¹	ka	to
Plural.....	{kame (exclusive) tayo (inclusive)}	}kayo	era

¹Sometimes also *nak* or *na*, apparently for euphonic reasons.

The pronouns given in this table can, in the first place, be used, with the exception of *to*, in the way shown by the following examples:

<i>Igudut-ak</i>	I am Igorot.	<i>Piga kayo?</i>	How many are you?
<i>Abiteg-ak</i>	I am poor.	<i>Sampulo kame</i>	We are ten.
<i>Ambulat-ka</i>	You are heavy.	<i>Bakung era</i>	They are rich.

With a verbal form they are used as follows:

<i>Mangan-ak</i>	} I eat. ¹	<i>Mangan kame</i>	} We eat.
<i>Nak-mangan</i>		<i>Kame mangan</i>	
<i>Mangan-ka</i>	} Thou eatest.	<i>Mangan tayo</i>	} You eat.
<i>Ka-mangan</i>		<i>Tayo mangan</i>	
<i>Mangan-to</i>	} He eats.	<i>Mangan kayo</i>	} They eat.
<i>To-mangan</i>		<i>Kayo mangan</i>	
		<i>Mangan era</i>	
		<i>Era mangan</i>	

POSSESSIVE PARTICLES

The possessive pronoun is represented by the genitive of the last-mentioned forms:

¹In this instance, as well as everywhere in these notes, I use the English present tense, which colloquially stands also for the future, for what appears to be an equally ambiguous Nabaloi tense.



Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXII. IBALOI WOMEN ON RESTING PLATFORM AT DWELLING.





Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXIII. IBALOI WOMAN CARRYING BABE.

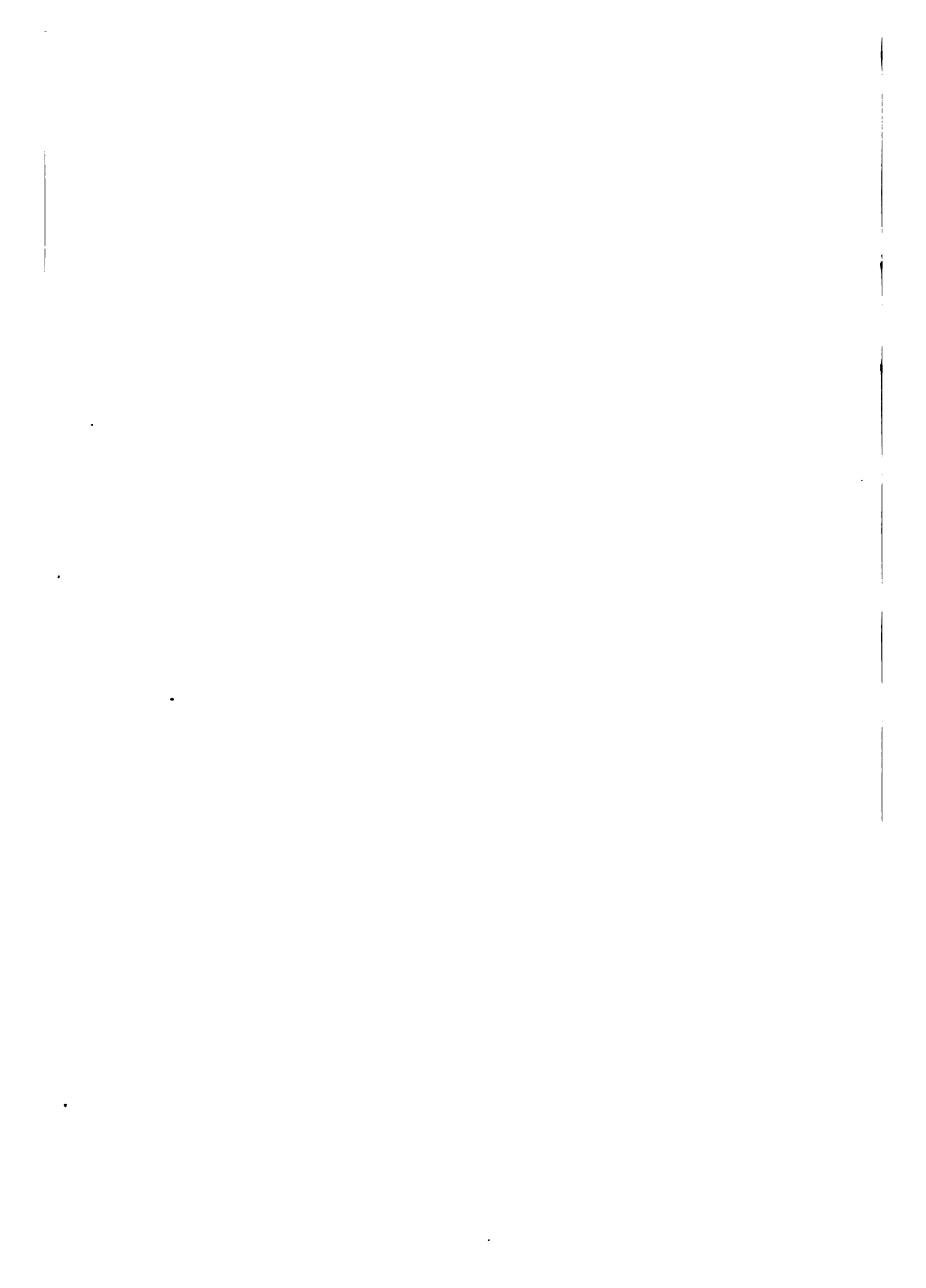




PLATE LXXV. TATTOO ON ARM OF IBALOI GIRL.

Photo by Worcester.

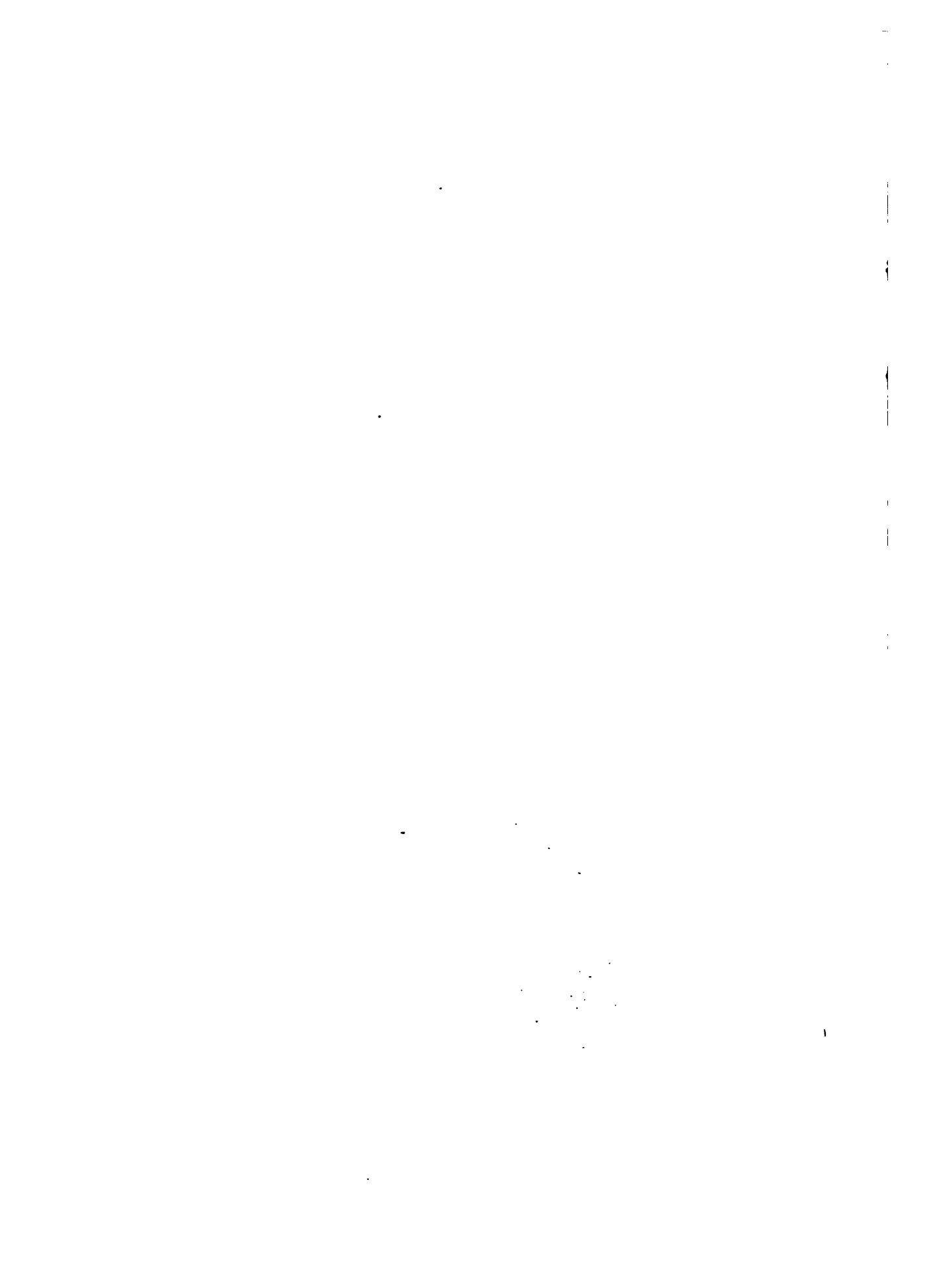




Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LXXVI. IBALOI CARRIERS, WOMAN AND ONE MAN WITH CARRYING FRAME (CHA-GI).

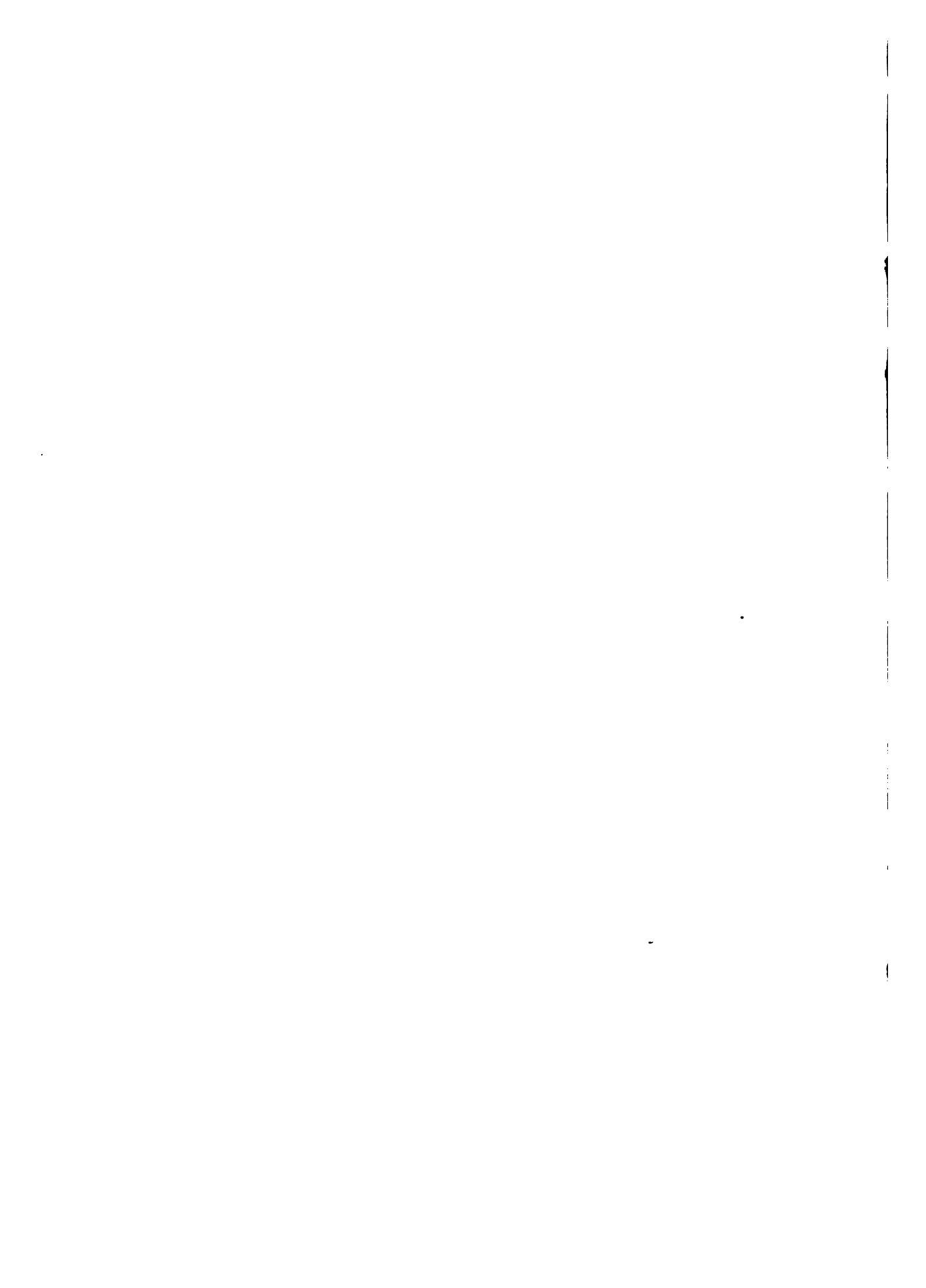




Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXVII. IBALOI MAN TURNING SOIL FOR PLANTING.

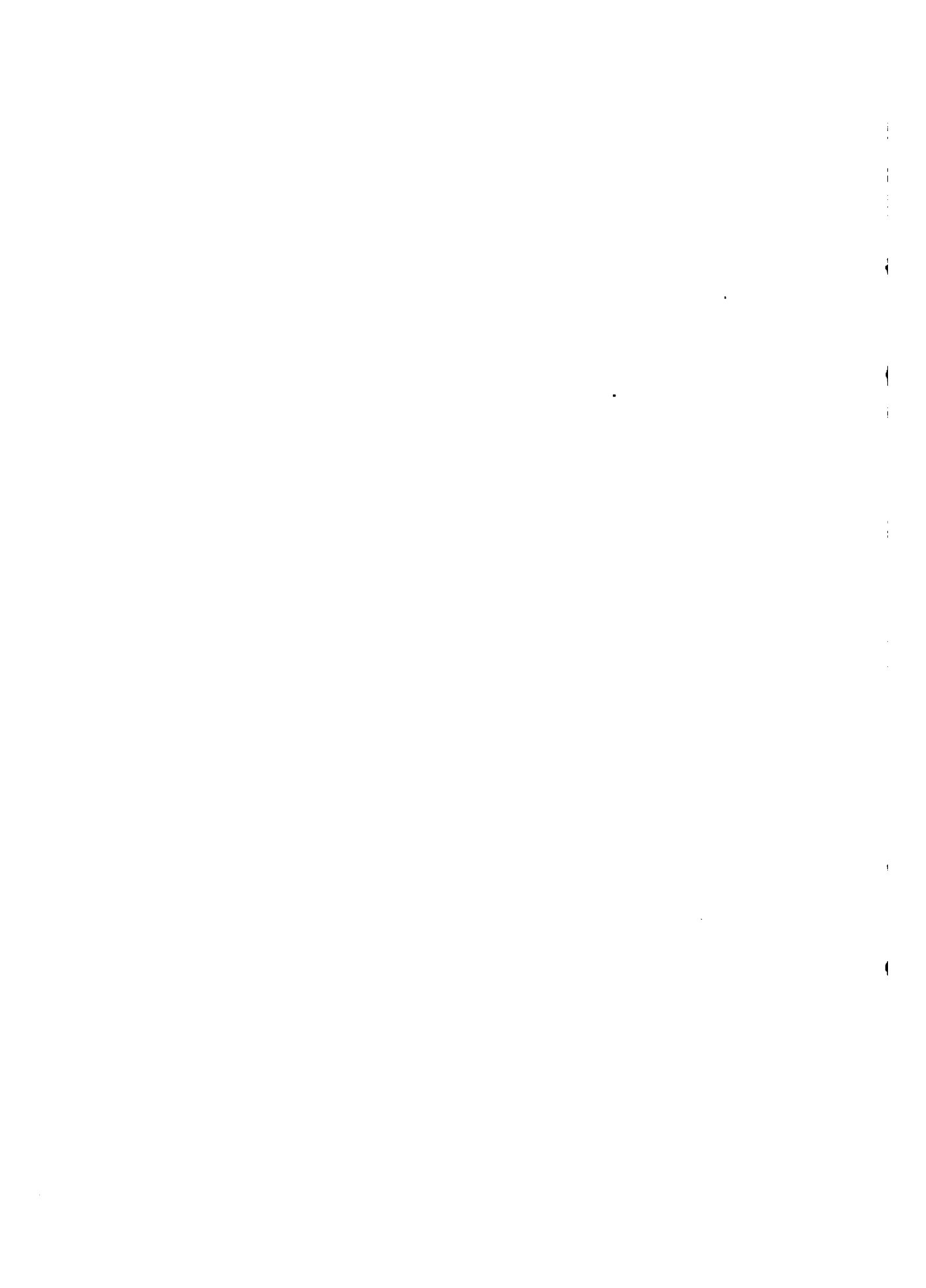




Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXVIII. IBALOI WOMAN WITH CARRYING BASKET (KA-YA-BANG) ON HER BACK;
SUPPORTING CORD (A-FID) PASSES OVER CROWN OF HEAD.





Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LXXIX. IBALOI WOMAN TRANSPORTING RICE IN KA-YA-BANG.

Form	Nominative	Genitive possessive particles
First person singular -----	ak, nak, ¹ na ¹	ko ('k), ² na, ¹ ta ¹
First person plural -----	kame, tayo	me, tayo
Second person singular -----	ka	mo ('m) ²
Second person plural -----	kayo	dyo
Third person singular -----	to	to
Third person plural -----	era ³	cha, ⁴ ra

¹ Used with verbal forms only.
² P., ira.

³ Used as suffix to nouns ending in a, i, o, or u.
⁴ I. and P., da.

The application of these possessive particles will be seen from the following examples:

(a) With noun substantive terminating in a, i, o, or u—

<i>Ama-k</i>	My father	<i>Ina-pi</i>	Thy mother
<i>Baro-k</i>	My shirt	<i>Sadi-m</i>	Thy foot
<i>Awu-k</i>	My dog	<i>Apo-m</i>	Thy grandfather
<i>Agi-k</i>	My brother	<i>Sagu-m</i>	Thy comb

Terminating otherwise—

<i>Bantai-ko</i>	My guard	<i>Chalan-me</i>	Our road (s)
<i>Bukdou-ko</i>	My neck	<i>Sudat-me</i>	Our letter (s)
<i>Tafei-ko</i>	My rice wine	<i>Balei-me</i>	Our house (s)
<i>Budai-mo</i>	Thy land	<i>Toktok-dyo</i>	Your heads
<i>Chifle-mo</i>	Thy rifle	<i>Sangkap-dyo</i>	Your hand spades
<i>Suan-mo</i>	Thy stick	<i>Kóbal-dyo</i>	Your loincloths
<i>Bidin-to</i>	His order	<i>Kabadyo-cha</i>	} Their horse (s)
<i>Katap-to</i>	His cloak	<i>Kabadyo-ra</i>	
<i>Guamet-to</i>	His rope	<i>Paltog-cha</i>	Their guns

Possessive	My hands	My feet
My -----	dimak; or, more idiomatic, saidial chua'n (these two hands of mine)	sadik; or, more idiomatic, saidial chua'n sadik
Your (singular) -----	dimam; or, more idiomatic, suta chua'n diman (those two hands of yours)	sadim, or suta chua'n sadim
His (or her) -----	dima-to; or, more idiomatic, suta chua'n dima-to	sadi-to, or suta chua'n sadi-to
Our (your and my) -----	dima tayo	sadi táyo
Our (his and my) -----	dima-me	sadi-me
Our (your, plural, and my) -----	dima tayo	sadi táyo
Our (their and my) -----	dima-me	sadi-me
Your (dual) -----	dima-dyo chua	sadi-dyo chua
Their (dual) -----	dima-cha'n chua	sadi-cha'n chua
Your (plural) -----	dima-dyo	sadi-dyo
Their (plural) -----	dima-cha	sadi-cha

Possessive	My horse	My dog	My ox
My	kabadyok	asuk	bakak a kafon ¹
Your (singular)	kabadyom	asum	bakam a kafon
His (or her)	kabadyo-to	asu-to	baka-to a kafon
Our (your and my)	kabadyo-tayo	asu-tayo	baka tayo a kafon
Our (his and my)	kabadyo-me	asu-me	baka-me a kafon
Our (your, plural, and my)	kabadyo-tayo	asu-tayo	baka tayo a kafon
Our (their and my)	kabadyo-me	asu-me	baka-me a kafon
Your (dual)	kabadyo-dyo'n chua	asu-dyo'n chua	baka-dyo'n chua a kafon
Their (dual)	kabadyo cha'n chua	asu-cha'n chua	baka-cha'n chua a kafon
Your (plural)	kabadyo-dyo	asu-dyo	baka-dyo a kafon
Their (plural)	kabadyo-cha	asu-cha	baka-cha a kafon

¹ Corr. Sp., capon.

Our grandfather's house: *Balei ne ápo-me* or *balei nan ápo-me* or *balei ápo-me*.

(b) With verbal forms (verbal forms have the nature of nouns; see under "Roots and particles," also under "The verb")—

<i>Pian-ko</i>	I like (want, wish).	<i>Pian-me</i>	We like.
<i>Pian-mo</i>	Thou likest.	<i>Pian-dyo</i>	You like.
<i>Pian-to</i>	He likes.	<i>Pian-cha</i>	They like.
<i>Inguazat-ko</i> ¹ <i>panak</i>	I lost my bow.	<i>Inket-ko sadik</i>	I cut my foot.
<i>Inguazat-mo átak-mo</i>	You lost your cleaver (bolo).	<i>Inket-mo sadim</i>	You cut your foot.
<i>Inguazat-to pana-to</i>	He lost his arrow.	<i>Inket-to sadi-to</i>	He cuts his foot.

He stole

He killed

My horse	<i>Kinibot-to</i> ² <i>kabadyok</i> .	My dog	<i>Binu-to</i> ³ <i>asuk</i> .
Thy horse	<i>Kinibot-to kabadyom</i> .	Thy dog	<i>Binu-to asum</i> .
His horse	<i>Kinibot-to kabadyoto</i> .	His dog	<i>Binu-to asu-to</i> .

They stole

They killed

Our horses	<i>Kinibot-cha kabadyo-me</i> .	Our dogs	<i>Binu-cha asu-me</i> .
Your horses	<i>Kinibot-cha kabadyo-dyo</i> .	Your dogs	<i>Binu-cha asu-dyo</i> .
Their horses	<i>Kinibot-cha kabadyo-ra</i> .	Their dogs	<i>Binu-cha asu-cha</i> .

By altering in any of these sentences the order of the words and adding the article to the verbal form the character of noun latent in the verbal form becomes more manifest:

<i>Pian-ko tafei</i>	I like rice wine.
<i>Tafei e pian-ko</i>	Rice wine is my desire.
<i>Sadik e inket-ko</i>	My foot is the part I cut (not my hand).
<i>Asuk e binu-to tan kabadyok e kinibot-to</i>	My dog was the object of his killing and my horse the object of his stealing.

The pronoun may also precede the verbal form. This is heard especially in short sentences like—

<i>Mo-ala!</i>	Bring! (imp.)	<i>Me-insas</i>	We have seen.
<i>Ka-asas!</i>	Look!	<i>Dyo-ibaag</i>	Ask! (plur. imp.)
<i>To-inda</i>	He has taken (it).	<i>Cha-bunuin</i>	They are going to kill.

¹ From *inguazat*, to lose.

² From *kinibot*, to steal.

³ From *bunuin*, to kill.

Note also place of pronoun in negative forms:

Ak-ko-pian I don't like. *Ak-ak-ámta* } I don't know.
Tagoei, kak-ámta }

DUAL PERSONAL PRONOUN

The personal pronoun *kita* requires special mention. It comprehends the first and second persons, "thou and I," together. It has no independent form like those given at the beginning of this chapter, and it can not be construed with *nan* or *sun*. Its possessive case is the same as the nominative and can not be employed with other nouns than those represented by verbal forms.

Examples

Andao kita chi Manida. Thou and I go to Manila.
Abiteg kita. Thou and I are poor.
Cha kita kapan kalbiga. } They are beating thee and me.
Cha kapan kalbiga sun sikatayo. }
Insas-cha sun sikatayo. They have seen us.
Balei tayo. Our house (thine and mine).
Bunuin kita iai a baka. Thou and I will kill this cow.

For further examples of the use of all personal pronouns with verbal forms see tables under "The verb."

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

Number and gender are not distinguished by different forms.

The following is a comparative list of the Nabaloi demonstrative pronouns and those of the Ilocano and Pangasinan languages. I add also for comparison the words for "here," "there," "now," and "before," as the remoteness both in space and in time seems to govern the use of these pronouns, though I can not give precisely the finer shades in the respective meanings of each:¹

English	Ilocano	Pangasinan	Nabaloi
This	daítoí, itoi	sayan	saidíai (sadiáí), íai
That	detai, dalta, itai, ita	satap	satán, sután, itán
That (farther away)	daídíai, idíai	saman	saman, íman
Here	ditoi	dia	chíai, díai, sadiáí ¹
There	díta, idíai	dítan	chítan ('d'tan) ¹
There (farther away)	sadiáí	díman	chíman ('d'man) ¹
Now	ítá	natan	níman
Before	{ítai koa {ídi koa	}níman	nuntán

¹ See under "Adverbs and adverbial expressions."

The demonstrative pronoun used adjectively precedes the noun and is coupled with it by the particle *a*. Besides *sutan* there exists the form *suta*, which is used without the copula *a* and in the manner of a definite

article when referring to something of which a previous knowledge is presumed or which has already been mentioned. About the use of *iai* and *iman* with the definite article see under "The article."

Examples

<i>Iai a balei.</i>	This house (these houses).
<i>Balei iai.</i>	This is a house (these are houses).
<i>Naidiai a bato.</i>	This stone here.
<i>Natan a aso.</i>	That dog.
<i>Kiu sutan.</i>	That is wood.
<i>Akotai itan.</i>	That is bad.
<i>Naman a too.</i>	That person.
<i>Iman a sudat.</i>	That letter.
<i>Amputi e aso ni iai¹ a aanak.</i>	The dog of this boy is white.
<i>Inaran ko sun iman a too.</i>	I have given (it) to that man.
<i>Imutok to suta Kastil.</i>	That Spaniard (of whom you know) has arrived.

	This	That	These
Man	iai ¹ a too	itan ¹ a too	iai ¹ a too
Woman	iai a bli	itan a bli	iai a bli
Boy	iai a aanak	itan a aanak	iai a aanak
Dog	iai a asu	itan a asu	iai a asu
Horse	iai a kabadyo	itan a kabadyo	iai a kabadyo
Knife	iai a táad	itan a táad	iai a táad
Axe	iai a guasal	itan a guasal	iai a guasal

	Those	Those two	Those two
Man	itan ¹ a too	iai ¹ a chua'n too	itan ¹ a chuan too
Woman	itan a bli	iai a chua'n bli	itan a chuan bli
Boy	itan a aanak	iai a chua'n aanak	itan a chuan aanak
Dog	itan a asu	iai a chua'n asu	itan a chuan asu
Horse	itan a kabadyo	iai ¹ a chua'n kabadyo	itan ¹ a chuan kabadyo
Knife	itan a táad	iai a chua'n táad	itan a chuan táad
Axe	itan a guasal	iai a chua'n guasal	itan a chuan guasal

¹ Or one of the alternative forms as per table.

TO BE HERE

I am here

<i>Guara-ak chiaí (or diaí)</i>	I
<i>Guara-ka diaí</i>	You
<i>Sikam tan sikak guara kita diaí</i>	You and I
<i>Sikáto guara diaí</i>	He
<i>Sikáto tan sikak, guara kame diaí</i>	He and I
<i>Guara kayo'n chua diaí</i>	Ye (dual)
<i>Guara era'n chua diaí</i>	They (dual)
<i>Guara tayo diaí</i>	We (ye and I)
<i>Guara kame diaí</i>	We (they and I)
<i>Guara kayo diaí</i>	Ye (plural)
<i>Guara era diaí</i>	They (plural)

¹ *Ni iai* or *niai*.

The past tense is expressed by adding at the end of each sentence *nuntan*, meaning "before," and the future by adding *nem asanem* or *asenem*, meaning "later on."

TO BE THERE

I am there

<i>Guara-ak chiman</i>	I
<i>Guara-ka 'd'man</i>	You
<i>Sikam tan sikak guara kita 'd'man</i>	You and I
<i>Sikáto guara 'd'man</i>	He
<i>Sikáto tan sikak guara kame 'd'man</i>	He and I
<i>Guara kayo'n chua 'd'man</i>	Ye (dual)
<i>(Guara era'n chua chiman</i>	They (dual)
<i>(Guara tayo 'd'man</i>	We (ye and I)
<i>(Guara kame 'd'man</i>	We (they and I)
<i>(Guara kayo 'd'man</i>	Ye (plural)
<i>(Guara era 'd'man</i>	They (plural)

RELATIVE PRONOUN

The relative pronoun in Nabaloi, representing the English expressions "which is," "which are," and serving for both numbers and all genders, is *dya*. The rendering of other English relative constructions will be gathered from the following idiomatic expressions:

Examples

<i>Suta balei dya ootik.</i>	That house which is small.
<i>E too dya dimaga níai a balei, atei da.¹</i>	The man who built this house is dead.
<i>Inamtik e kabadyo dya tinumkal-ko.²</i>	The horse which I bought has run away.
<i>Ibaag-mo sun sikak suta ingkuan-to.³</i>	Tell me what he said.
<i>Suta kiu dya inasak-ko amanbadeg siged.⁴</i>	The tree that I planted is growing well.
<i>Angken sepai e dimaga baichan-to.⁵</i>	Whoever did it shall pay for it.
<i>Angken ngaramto e basul mo, ikuan-mo.⁶</i>	Whatever your fault, tell it.
<i>Ag-ak-inaxang suta kuan-to.⁷</i>	I do not believe what he says.
<i>Bunúin-ko suta too'n⁸ kinibot kabadyok.⁹</i>	I will kill the man who stole my horse.
<i>Pangkabadyóan-ko suta anabui nan too.¹⁰</i>	I will ride the horse that threw the man.

For few, many, all, some, both, no, other, see under "Noun."

¹ Lit.: The person which was-builder of this house, dead already.

² Lit.: Has-run-away the horse which was-purchase mine.

³ Lit.: Information thine to me that-which was-say his.

⁴ Lit.: That tree which was-object-of-planting mine is-becoming great well.

⁵ Lit.: Even who the was-doer will-be-payment his.

⁶ Lit.: Even name-its the fault thine, be-say thine.

⁷ Lit.: Not-I-believe that-which is-say his.

⁸ The 'n here affixed to *too* must be a mutilated copula *na*; I., a; *iti tao á natai*, the man who died; T., *tawó 'ng makasalanán*, a sinful man

⁹ Lit.: Object of killing mine that man who stole horse mine.

¹⁰ Lit.: I-am-going-to use-as-horse mine that-which was-thrower of person.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

The use of interrogative pronouns and of interrogative adverbs is illustrated in the following examples:

WHO? *Sepa?* or *Sepai?*

<i>Sepa iman</i> (or <i>sepa'man</i>)?	Who is that?
<i>Sepai sikam?</i>	Who are you?
<i>Sepa 'man</i> (or <i>iman</i>)?	Who is that person?
<i>Sepai diai a dazi?</i>	Who is this man?

WHEN? *Pigan?* or *Kapigan?*

<i>Pigan e idao mo?</i>	When do you go?
<i>Kapigan e imugao cha?</i>	When did they arrive?

HOW MUCH? HOW MANY? *Piga?* or *Pigai?*

<i>Piga imbayad mo?</i>	How much did you pay?
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WHERE? *Túa?* or *Twói?*

<i>Twói daguan mo?</i>	Where are you going?
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WHAT? *Dyano?* (only as a single interjection)

Ngaramto? (Lit.: Its name.)

Ngaramtoi?

Ngantoi?

<i>Ngaramtoi mo kapan dagá?</i>	What are you doing?
---------------------------------	---------------------

WHICH? *Chinan?* *Twói?* *Túa?*

<i>Twói chalan tayo?</i>	Which is our road?
<i>Chinan kabadyom?</i>	} Which is your horse?
<i>Twói (túa) kabadyom?</i>	
<i>Twói paseng níai?</i>	} Which is the way to do this?
<i>Twói kabadyo dya tinumkal-mo?</i>	} Which horse (or horses) have you
<i>Chinan e kabadyo'n tinumkal-mo?</i>		} bought?

WHY? *Ngaramto?* *Ngaramtoi?*

<i>Ngaramtoi imaxad-ka?</i>	Why did you go?
<i>Ngaramto ag-mo-angánan?</i>	Why did you not eat?
<i>Ngaramto ag-mo-anginóman?</i>	Why did you not drink?
<i>Ngaramto ag-mo-anaxat chi balei-mo?</i>	Why did you not go home?
<i>Ngaramto ag-mo-anaxat chi balei-mo kabuasan?</i>	Why did you not go home yesterday?
<i>Ngaramto ag-mo anumkalan sazei a kabadyo nem guara-ka chi Guasing-ton?</i>	Why did you not buy a horse when you were in Washington?

Bearing in mind the existence in Nabaloi of the special prefix *maka*, to denote ownership, it is but natural that our query "Whose house is this?" should in that dialect be: "Who is the owner of this house?"

<i>Sepai makabalei ntai?</i>	Whose house is this?
<i>Sepai makaasu ntai?</i>	Whose dog is this?
<i>Sepai makatbad ntai?</i>	Whose knife is this?
<i>Sepai makakadubong ntai?</i>	Whose hat is this?

ADVERBS AND ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

A list of the more common adverbs follows with examples illustrating their use and showing also how some English adverbs are rendered:

<i>Siged</i>	Well	<i>Mapangdu</i>	Being the first
<i>Istayan</i>	Nearly, all but	<i>Maunut</i>	Being the last
<i>Ingis-to</i>	Likewise	<i>Totógua</i>	In truth
<i>Na chile or nga chile</i>	Very	<i>Siguchó</i> (Sp., se- guro)	Surely
<i>Ootik</i>	A little	<i>Numan, ngo</i>	Also
<i>Múan</i>	Again	<i>Ag-du</i>	No more, no longer
<i>Niman</i>	Now, to-day	<i>Ag</i>	Not
<i>Kachiman</i>	Yesterday	<i>Ūen, ōn</i>	Yes
<i>Kachiman saxei</i>	The day before yesterday	<i>Tinaoen</i>	Yearly
<i>Nuntan</i>	Before	<i>Anchí</i>	No
<i>Abayag da</i>	Long ago	<i>Chiai¹ diai</i>	Here
<i>Asanem or nem asanem</i>	Later	<i>Chiman¹</i>	} There
<i>Akai or nem akai</i>	Afterwards	<i>'d'man</i>	
<i>Sabadin akou</i>	Some other day	<i>Chitan¹</i>	
<i>Áneng</i>	Not yet	<i>'d'tan</i>	
<i>Inaáchem</i>	In the afternoon	<i>Chi inaidaem</i>	Within
<i>Kalbían</i>	Last night	<i>Chi daspág</i>	Below
<i>Kabuasan palba- ngun</i>	To-morrow early	<i>Chi inaitapou</i>	On top
<i>Sula taón da</i>	Last year	<i>Chi inakayang</i>	Above
<i>Sula bulan ali</i>	Next month	<i>Chi inaidúung</i>	Underneath
<i>Inakou</i>	Daily	<i>Chi inaiáskang</i>	Alongside
<i>Binudan</i>	Monthly	<i>Chi inaidingeb</i>	Behind
<i>Angken pigan</i>	Whenever, always	<i>Chi inaikawa</i>	In the middle
<i>Angken ngaramto e paseng</i>	Anyhow	<i>Chi piig</i>	On the other side
<i>Angken twái</i>	Wherever	<i>Bingad</i>	Only
<i>Kabuasan</i>	To-morrow	<i>Siya</i>	Yes (emphatic). "It is so, as I say (impatiently)"
<i>Buasto</i>	The day after to- morrow	<i>Singa</i>	So as, in the same way as
<i>Buasto saxei</i>	The second day after to-morrow	<i>Aligoa</i>	A negation con- taining a refer- ence to something different
<i>Achazel</i>	Much		
<i>Angsan</i>	Too much		

¹ *Chiai*, *chiman*, and *chitan* are composed of the particle *chi* (in, to, toward), which is the Pangasinan *ed* and the Kankanaí *di*, and *iai*, *inam*, and *itan*, respectively. They, as well as the nine other adverbs beginning with *chi*, for euphonic reasons often change this *chi* after a vowel into *d'*, which is then pronounced as a suffix to the preceding word. For instance: *Tokala 'd'iai*, come here; *guara 'd'man*, it is there; *guara ammo' d' daspag*, it seems to be below.

Examples

<i>Papaseng-mo siged.</i>	Do (it) well.
<i>Istayan-ak atri.</i>	I was on the point of dying.
<i>Kanuim alk.</i>	Come here quickly.
<i>Ingis-to e dinkan-to.</i>	He did it the same way.
<i>Ampetang nga chilc.</i>	It is very hot.
<i>Kaadyam ootik.</i>	Lift it up a little.
<i>Ibagán-mo múan.</i>	Ask again.
<i>Insas-ko niman.</i>	I saw it now.
<i>Inamtak nuntan.</i>	I knew it before.
<i>Andao-ak nem akai.</i>	I shall go later on.
<i>Kachiman imutok-to.</i>	He arrived yesterday.
<i>Balei-mo iai?</i>	Is this your house?
<i>Aligoa.</i>	It is not so; it is a different one.
<i>Aligoa'n iai.</i>	It is not this, but a different one.
<i>Aligoa'n balei-ko.</i>	It is not my house (but that of some-body else).
<i>Aligoa'n kinibot-ko binadnes-ko.</i>	I did not steal it; I borrowed it.
<i>Adibaen-ta-ka nem kabuasan.</i>	I shall visit you to-morrow.
<i>Tokala diai.</i>	Come here.
<i>Andao-ka 'd'man.</i>	Go there.
<i>Anchi chanum chiai.</i>	There is no water here.
<i>Isumanan-mo angken chiman.</i>	You may put it there.
<i>Achazel e inagwat-to.</i>	He has received much.
<i>Ootik bingad e insas-ko.</i>	I saw only a little.
<i>Angsan numan sutan.</i>	That is indeed too much.
<i>Sikáto atei a totógua.</i>	He is really dead.
<i>Ingkuan-ko ngo.</i>	I have said (so) also.
<i>Mapungdu iai.</i>	This comes first.
<i>Naúnut era.</i>	They came last.
<i>Ancng imugao-cha.</i>	They have not yet arrived.
<i>Agda aman-sakit.</i>	(He is) no longer sick.
<i>Ag-ka mampapaddek.</i>	Don't you gamble; never gamble.
<i>Angken piyan ag ali aman-aadtbai.</i>	(He) never comes visiting (me).

PREPOSITIONS

The following examples show the idiomatic rendering in Nabaloi of English sentences containing prepositions. Where Nabaloi prepositions occur they are printed in boldface type:

<i>Andao-ak chi Bengnet.</i>	I go to Benguet.
<i>Andao kita 'd Bengnet.</i>	Let us two go to Benguet.
<i>Insas-ta kayo nan Kuan.</i>	I saw you with John. (Lit.: Of John.)
<i>Sepai e inudup-mo?</i>	With whom did you go? (Lit.: Who was your companion?)
<i>Era-ka-aman-bakal ne Kastil.</i>	They are fighting against the Spaniards. (Lit.: They are being fighters of the Spaniards.)
<i>Na-kapan-asa sutan angkad diai.</i>	I am seeing that from here.
<i>Ama-dunqai'a'd' man e padok.</i>	The river is visible from there.

Chi balei-ko angrad balei-mo inai-aragui.	It is far from my house to your house.
E too inanbag-to chi kiu.	The man is standing on a log.
Isuman e táad-ko chi palteng-ko.¹	I will put my knife in my pocket.
Isuman-mo e táad-mo chi palteng-mo asanem.	You will put your knife in your pocket.
Isuman-ko e kadubong-ko chi damisáan.	I will put my hat on the table.
To-kapan-idúung kadubong-to chi damisáan.	He is putting his hat under the table.
Kimenneng e mazauas chi dóot.	The deer is standing in the bushes.
Sai balei-ko guara chi Bagio.	I live at Baguio.
Sai balei-ko guara chi Bagio nuntan.	I lived at Baguio.
E bázes moókíp chi kiu.	The monkey lives (Lit.: Sleeps) in a tree.
Sai kauanan ne mazauas guara chi chuntuk.	The deer lives in the woods.
Era-ka-ama-múul e adet chi Pias.	They are burning off the grass in Pias.
Anchi mopteng sun sikara angken sazei.	There is not even one good (man) among them.
Saidiai e cha-kapan sungura.	They are coming toward here.
Pabaanes-ka iai angrad kabuasan.	I lend this (to you) till to-morrow.
Kiu ne balei-ko iai.	This timber is for my house.
Sudat-mo iai.	This letter is for you (this is your letter).
Nem ag sikam, ikak-andao.	If (it were) not (for) you, I (would) not go.
Pinilit-ko.	I did (it) by force.
Dagen-ko kompolme (Sp., conforme) e ingkuan-mo.	I shall do according to your words.
Ag mabádin na mangan nem ag manubda.	One can not eat without working. (Lit.: If not work.)
Saad-to e pinantabtabal-me.	We are talking about his office. (Lit.: His office (is) the topic of us.)
Taad e impandagak.	I did it with a knife. (Lit.: Knife was my instrument in working.)
E balei guara inaiáskang chi padok.²	The house is by the river.
To be idiomatic this must be rendered:	
Isuman-cha e balei inaiáskang chi padok. (They will put the house by the river.)	The house will be by the river.
E balei guara inaiáskang chi padok nuntan.	The house was by the river.
E kiu akaldiap chi chanum.	Wood floats in the water.
E báto dimáned chi chanum.	A stone sinks in the water.
E paltog dimáned chi chanum.	A gun sinks in the water.
E panag akaldiap chi chanum.	An arrow floats on the water.
Andao kame nan Kuan chi Guasington.³	I will go to Washington with John.
Andao kame nan úmak chi Guasington.	I will go to Washington with my father.

¹As Igorot have no pockets in the loin cloth and cloak which form their tribal costume I have rendered "pocket" by *palteng*, which is a small wickerwork basket hung over the shoulder and that takes all little odds and ends of everyday use. Occasionally things are also put away by wrapping them into the folds of the loin cloth, an action which is called *ibítong*.

²Idiomatic: *Twat kaandn ne balei-to?* (Where is the site of his house?) *Inaiáskang chi padok e kaan/in-ló.* (Its site is near the river.)

³Washington is pronounced by Igorot "Guasington."

<i>Andao kame nan Kuan chi balei.</i>	I will go home with John.
<i>Mapangdu-ak dya anawat sun émak chi balei.</i>	I will go home before my father. (Lit.: I am going to be the first who goes with relation to my father to house.)
<i>Manánud-ak dya anawat sun Kuan chi balei.</i>	I will go home after John. (Lit.: I am going to be the last who goes with relation to John to house.)
<i>Manánud-ak dya anawat sun émak chi balei.</i>	I will go home after my father.
<i>Ibaag-ko sun kapitan maipoon ne baka.</i>	I will speak to the headman about the cows.

He is on the horse

Is	<i>Inankabadyo-to</i>
Was	<i>Inankabadyo-to nuntan</i>
Will be	<i>Mangkabadyo-to asanem</i>

The hat is on the table

Is	<i>E kadubong guara éhi damisáan</i>
Was	<i>E kadubong guara éhi damisáan nuntan</i>
Will be	<i>E kadubong guara éhi damisáan asanem</i>

The bow is on the ground

Bow is	<i>E pana guara éhi búdai</i>
Arrow was	<i>E pana guara éhi búdai nuntan</i>
Quiver will be	<i>Suta balei-to ne pana guara éhi búdai asanem</i>

The knife is in my pocket

Is in my	<i>E táad guara éhi palleng-ko</i>
Was in his	<i>E táad guara éhi palleng-ko nuntan</i>

The horse is on the hill

Is	<i>E kubadyo guara éhi chuntuk</i>
Was	<i>E kabadyo guara éhi chuntuk nuntan</i>
<i>Inaipíril ne báto</i>	By the stone
<i>Inaiaskang ne báto</i>	Near the stone
<i>Inaitédítéd ne báto</i>	Under the stone
<i>Inaitápo ne báto</i>	On the stone
<i>Inaipíg ne báto</i>	Beyond the stone
<i>Chi inaitápo ne chanum</i>	On the water
<i>Chi chanum</i>	In the water
<i>Chi inaichálem ne chanum</i>	Under the water

TO BE IN THE HOUSE

I am in the house

I	<i>Guara-ak éhi balei</i>
You	<i>Guara-ka éhi balei</i>
You and I	<i>Sikam tan sikak, guara kita éhi balei</i>

He (or she)	<i>Sikáto guara chi balei</i>
He and I	<i>Sikáto tan sikak, guara kame chi balei</i>
Ye (dual)	<i>Guara kayo chua chi balei</i>
They (dual)	<i>Guara era'n chua chi balei.</i> (Also: <i>Sikara'n chua guara chi balei.</i>)
We (ye and I)	<i>Guara tayo chi balei</i>
We (they and I)	<i>Guara kame chi balei</i>
Ye (plural)	<i>Guara kayo chi balei</i>
They (plural)	<i>Guara era chi balei</i>

For the past tense *nuntan* and for the future tense *asanem* or *nem asanem* are added at the end of the sentence.

CONJUNCTIONS

<i>Sikak tan sikam.</i>	I and you.
<i>Andao-ak niman tan kabuasan iulik.</i>	I leave to-day and return to-morrow.
<i>Angken ikuan-mo ikak-manikan.</i>	Although you say (so), I do not believe it.
<i>Angken inap-ko siged ikak-insas.</i>	Although I searched well, I did not see (it).
<i>Baichan-mo-ak angken ootik.</i>	Pay me (something), even (if it be) a little.
<i>Emenem atei si amam . . .</i>	If (supposing) your father should die . . .
<i>Nem pian-mo manudup kita.</i>	If you like, let us go together.
<i>Nem anuchan nem kabuasan ikakandao.</i>	If it rains to-morrow I shall not go.
<i>Nem asas-ko sazei a maazagoas paltogan-ko.</i>	If I see a deer I will shoot it.
<i>Nem isikdiat-mo asu kadáten-to-ka.</i>	The dog will bite you if you kick him.
<i>Nem anakét kayo anoókip-ak.</i>	I will sleep if you will be still.
<i>Anágachak¹ chi balei-ko nem dinabung-cha kabadyok.</i>	I will go home when my horse is caught.
<i>Siged antungao-ka tap inabdé-ka.</i>	Better sit down because you are tired.
<i>Nak-manganáb tap nak-aman-akán.</i>	I am going hunting because I am hungry.
<i>Akotai númnum-ko tap mo-ak-sinapdet.</i>	I am angry (Lit.: Bad mind mine) because you struck me.
<i>Ikak-pian na mangan tap inab-sel-ak.</i>	I do not want to eat more because I am satisfied.
<i>Ipastol-mo e kabadyo chi payou sai antabá.</i>	Pasture the horse in the rice field in order to have it become fat.
<i>Ngaramto e dagenan mo so níai?</i>	What do you do that for?
<i>Impaaad-ko sun sikáto ngem² agto-pian angtungpal.</i>	I told him to go away, but he would not obey.
<i>Akal makim ta³ machichal.</i>	Do not touch it, lest you break it.
<i>Nem makoheng e uran angsikit.</i>	After it has finished raining there will be sunshine.
<i>Andao kita nem makoheng e mangan.</i>	Let us go after having finished our meal.

¹ *Anágachak*, contraction of *andgad-ak*.

² *Ngem* (but) different from *nem* (if, when).

³ *Tu* I hold to be the same as *tan*, and.

THE VERB

FORMATION AND GENERAL CHARACTER OF VERBAL FORMS

The Nabaloi verb presents the same fundamental character as the verb of all the other Philippine dialects.

Divesting it of the agglutinated particles we find as kernel the root word, the bare expression of a single idea. Such a root is, for instance, *dag-a*, meaning as well "the work" as "to work," "to do," "to make" (past tense, *dimaga*). With the help of particles the language developed these roots into words with more specific meanings, not by establishing a distinction coinciding precisely with that in English between nouns and verbs but by expressing through special particles the closer relation existing, according to the sense of the speech, between the activity denoted by the root on one side and the performer or the object, the locality, the instrument, etc., of that action on the other side. The words to which these particles have been added and which express this relation are given the character of nouns but they can be modified as to time like verbs.

Thus, from above root *dag-a*, for instance, two forms are obtained:

- (1) With prefix *mang* *mandag-a* The worker, doer, maker.¹
 (2) With suffix *en* *dag-en* The object of doing, making, the work.

The sentence "I make a house" can be doubly expressed:

Mandaga-ak ne saxeia balei (or) *Saxeia balei e dagen-ko*
 Maker I of a house A house the work of me
 (Past tense: *Nandaga*, was maker) (Past tense: *Dingka*, was work)

The question as to which of these two forms is to be used in any case is decided by the accent the speaker is laying either on the circumstance of his being occupied as one who builds or on the object of his activity, the house, as will be seen from the following questions and answers:

Ngaramto mandaga ka? *Mandaga-ak ne balei*
 What worker you? Worker I of house
Ngaramto e dagen mo? *Balei e dagen ko*
 What the work of you? House the work of me

The manner in which the relation existing between the verbal form and another part of the sentence is accentuated by special particles is illustrated further in the following examples:

Root, *Al-a*, To FETCH²
 (Past, *imala*)

¹Or "to be the worker, doer, maker." Compare footnote to examples under "The article."

²*Al-a* has not only the meaning "to fetch" but also the wide and vague one of English "to get" in phrases like "get me a pencil."

Prefix, *mang*:

Sepai e mangala ne kabadyok? Sikak e mangala
 Who the fetcher of horse mine? I the fetcher

(Prefix, *mang*; past, *mangala*)

Suffix, *en*:

Ngaramto e aaden-mo?
 What the object of fetching thine?

Kabadyom e aaden-ko
 Horse thine the object of fetching mine

(Prefix, *in*; past, *inda*)

Prefix and suffix, *pang-an*:

Twai e pangalaan-mo ne kiu?
 Where the fetching place thine of wood?

Chiman e pangalaan-ko
 Over there the fetching place mine

(Infix, *in*; past, *pinangalaan*)

Prefix, *pang*:

*Ngaramto e pangalam ne kiu?*¹
 What the instrument of fetching thine of wood

Iai e pangalak
 This the instrument of fetching mine

(Infix *in*; past, *pinangala*)

Suffix, *an*:

Sepai e aadan² mo ne tabaco?
 Who the supplier thine of tobacco?

Si Mateo e aadan ko so³
 Mateo the supplier mine of this

Prefix, *in*:

(Past, *indaan*)

This peculiar trait of making use of different verbal forms having the character of nouns to mark the relation existing between the verb and some other part of the sentence, or, in other words, to mark the predominance in a sentence either of the performer or the object, locality, instrument, etc., of the action, clearly shows the relationship of Nabaloi to the other Philippine dialects, all of which have this peculiarity.

It is in keeping with this trait that the performer should be emphasized whenever the object is a more or less indefinite one—for instance, when

¹ More idiomatically, *ngaramto e pangngiu-mo?* Root, *kiu*, wood; *pangngiu*, to use something to cut or fetch wood, also the thing so used.

² The employment in this case of a form with suffix *an*, which denotes locality, is interesting not only because it shows what the natives may conceive as locality at which an action takes place but also because it shows how the English prepositional construction, "From whom do you get your tobacco?" is expressed in Nabaloi.

³ I am not sure that I translate *so* correctly by "of this."

it has the indefinite article. Given the root *bunu*, to kill, "I kill a dog" would be *Mamunu-ak ne sazei a asu* (Lit.: "Killer I of a dog," present or future), but "I kill this dog" ("this" emphasized) is *Bunuin-ko iai a asu* (Lit.: "Killing object mine this dog," present or future).¹ In both cases, however, the emphasis can be shifted again by a yet stronger accentuation of the other part:

Sazei a asu e bunuin-ko, aligoa sazei a manok
 A dog the killing object mine, not a chicken

And—

Sikak e mamunu níai a asu, aligoa si Kuan
 I the killer of this dog, not John

How a stem denoting not an activity but a thing may be given verbal force has already been shown under the heading "Roots and particles." The following are instances of the verbalization of roots signifying substance with the help of the prefix *mang*: *Kiu*, wood; *mang-ngíu*, to cut or fetch wood; *adet*, grass; *mang-adet*, to cut and fetch grass (for fodder).

ON PARTICLES

The vigor, terseness, and elegance of the Malayan dialects, to which Nabaloi clearly belongs, result from and are proportionate to the treasure they all have of agglutinative particles of various meanings, coupled with the pliancy of the root in admitting such particles. The particles employed in the examples so far quoted are only some of the more usual ones. They may further not be applied at will to any and all roots. In the table following these explanatory remarks will be found the conjugation of the verb "to plant," *asak*. This verb, to emphasize the object, does not take the suffix *en* or *in* but the prefix *i*, which in this combination signifies the action expressed by the root as executed at or with or with relation to the object in question: *Iasak mo iai a kúu*, "Let this tree be the object at (or with) which you execute the operation of planting;" "plant this tree."

The manner in which the root as well as the particle may be affected phonetically through the agglutination—that is, their tendency to melt into each other—will already have been noticed in the case of the prefix *mang*, which, as shown, forms *nomina agentis*:

Before <i>a</i> the prefix <i>mang</i> remains unchanged	<i>mang-ala</i>
Before <i>b</i> the <i>ng</i> disappears, having converted the <i>b</i> of the root into <i>m</i>	<i>ma-munu</i> (root, <i>bunu</i>)
Before <i>d</i> the <i>ng</i> is reduced to <i>n</i>	<i>man-daga</i>
Before <i>k</i> the <i>ng</i> assimilates the <i>k</i> of the root	<i>mang-ngtu</i> (root, <i>kiu</i>)

I content myself with pointing out these letter changes as they occur in the examples used by me, without attempting to establish any rules.

¹ Compare also *Iai a baba e bunuin ni* (or *nan*) *Kuan*: This cow is John's killing object.

ON TENSES

In verbal forms like those presented at the beginning of this section (*mandaga, dagen, mangala, aaden, pangalaan, etc.*) it is not decided whether the action is to take place now, presently, or at some later time. If this is not to be understood from the sense of the speech it must be made clear by adding such words as *niman*, now; *asanem*, later on; *kabuasan*, to-morrow, etc. The range of this indefinite tense is limited by the existence of only two other tenses:

(1) A continuative, signifying that the action has already begun and is still progressing. This is formed (see the following tables) with *ka-aman* (*ama*) for verbal forms emphasizing the agent, and *ka-pan*¹ for verbal forms emphasizing the object, locality, etc.

(2) A past tense, formed with prefix *ang* (*an, a*) or *nang* (*nan, na*) or *inan*² for verbal forms emphasizing the agent, and with prefix or infix *in* (*im*) for verbal forms emphasizing the object, locality, etc.

PARADIGMS

Root, *Bunu*, To KILL

AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular...	Na-ka ama-munu	mamunu-ak ¹	amunu-ak ²
Second person singular...	Ka-ka ama-munu	mamunu-ka	amunu-ka
Third person singular...	To-ka ama-munu	mamunu-to	amunu-to
First person plural....	Kame ka ama-munu	mamunu kame	amunu kame ³
Second person plural...	Kayo ka ama-munu	mamunu kayo	amunu kayo
Third person plural...	Era ka ama-munu	mamunu era	amunu era ⁴
Imperative, <i>mamunu-ka</i>			

¹ Or *sak mamunu*.

² Or *sak amunu*.

³ To avoid cumbersome repetition I given only the exclusive plural; the inclusive plural and the dual are obtained by simply substituting *layo* or *kila*, respectively, for *kame* or *me* of the paradigm.

⁴ Other forms: *Na-munu-ak*, etc., and *inan-munu-ak*, etc. (past tense of the continuative form).

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular...	Na-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-ko ¹	binuk
Second person singular...	Mo-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-mo ²	binum
Third person singular...	To-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-to	bunu-to
First person plural....	Me-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-me (kame)	binu-me
Second person plural...	Dyo-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-dyo	binu-dyo
Third person plural...	Cha-ka-pan-bunua	bunuin-cha	binu-cha
Imperative, <i>bunuin-mo</i>			

¹ Though pronounced *bunuin*, the suffix is really *en*, not *in*. ² Also *bunuim* and *bunum*.

¹ These particles *ka-pan* if connected with verbal forms having the suffix *en* or an change that suffix into *a*: *Ibagán-ko*, my point of inquiry; continuative, *na-ka-pan ibága*. *Adibaien-ko*, the person visited by me; *na-ka-pan adibaia*. Root, *bugnad*, to shift a horse to another pasture; *bugnaren-ko*, to be the object of such action of mine; continuative, *na-ka-pan bugnára*.

² *Inan* I suspect to be the past of the continuative form *ka-aman*.

THE NABALOI DIALECT

Root, *Asak*, TO PLANT

AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular...	Na-ka aman asak	manasak-ak	nanasak-ak
Second person singular	Ka-ka aman asak	manasak-ka	nanasak-ka
Third person singular...	To-ka aman asak	manasak-to	nanasak-to
First person plural...	Kame ka aman asak	manasak kame	nanasak kame
Second person plural...	Kayo ka aman asak	manasak kayo	nanasak kayo
Third person plural...	Era ka aman asak	manasak era	nanasak era ¹

Imperative, *manasak-ka*¹ Also *an-asak-ak*, etc., and *inan-asak-ak*, etc.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular...	Na-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-ko	insak-ko
Second person singular	Mo-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-mo	insak-mo
Third person singular...	To-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-to	insak-to
First person plural....	Me-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-me (kame)	insak-me
Second person plural...	Dyo-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-dyo	insak-dyo
Third person plural....	Cha-ka-pan-iasak	iasak-cha	insak-cha ¹

Imperative, *iasak-mo*¹ Also *inasak-ko*, etc.

TO CAUSE TO KILL

Root, *Bunu*, TO KILL

AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular...	Na-ka aman pamunu	mampamunu-ak	nanpamunu-ak
Second person singular	Ka-ka aman pamunu	mampamunu-ka	nanpamunu-ka
Third person singular...	To-ka aman pamunu	mampamunu-to	nanpamunu-to
First person plural....	Kame ka aman pamunu	mampamunu kame	nanpamunu kame
Second person plural...	Kayo ka aman pamunu	mampamunu kayo	nanpamunu kayo
Third person plural...	Era ka aman pamunu	mampamunu era	nanpamunu era ¹

Imperative, *mampabunu-ka*¹ Also *inan pamunu-ak*, etc.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular...	Na-ka-pabunu	pabunuk	impabunuk
Second person singular	Mo-ka-pabunu	pabunum	impabunum
Third person singular...	To-ka-pabunu	pabunu-to	impabunu-to
First person plural....	Me-ka-pabunu	pabunu-me	impabunu-me
Second person plural...	Dyo-ka-pabunu	pabunu-dyo	impabunu-dyo
Third person plural....	Cha-ka-pabunu	pabunu-cha	impabunu-cha

Imperative, *pabunum*

TO CAUSE TO PLANT
Root, *Asak*, TO PLANT
AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular...	Na-ka aman paasak	mampaaasak-ak	nanpaasak-ak
Second person singular	Ka-ka aman paasak	mampaasak-ka	nanpaasak-ka
Third person singular...	To-ka aman paasak	mampaasak-to	nanpaasak-to
First person plural	Kame ka aman paasak	mampaasak-kame	nanpaasak-kame
Second person plural...	Kayo ka aman paasak	mampaasak-kayo	nanpaasak-kayo
Third person plural	Era ka aman paasak	mampaasak era	nanpaasak era ¹
Imperative, <i>mampaasak-ka</i>			

¹ Also *nan paasak-ak*, etc.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular...	Na-ka-paasak ¹	paasak-ko	impaasak-ko
Second person singular	Mo-ka-paasak	paasak-mo	impaasak-mo
Third person singular...	To-ka-paasak	paasak-to	impaasak-to
First person plural	Me-ka-paasak	paasak-me	impaasak-me
Second person plural...	Dyo-ka-paasak	paasak-dyo	impaasak-dyo
Third person plural	Cha-ka-paasak ¹	paasak-cha	impaasak-cha
Imperative, <i>paasak-mo</i>			

¹ Also *na-ka-pan-paasak*, etc.

NEGATIVE FORMS

Root, *Bunu*, TO KILL
AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular...	Aligua na-ka-ama munu	ikak mamunu ¹	ikak amunu
Second person singular	Aligua ka-ka-ama munu	ag-ka mamunu	ag-ka amunu
Third person singular...	Aligua to-ka-ama munu	ag-to mamunu	ag-to amunu
First person plural	Aligua kame ka amamunu	ag-kame mamunu	ag-kame amunu
Second person plural...	Aligua kayo ka ama munu	ag-kayo mamunu	ag-kayo amunu
Third person plural	Aligua era ka ama munu	ag-era mamunu	ag-era amunu
Imperative, <i>ag-ka mamunu</i>			

NORR.—It appears that all these tenses may be construed either with the negative particle *ag* or with *aligua*. I give them as they are most often heard.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular...	Aligua na-ka-pan-bunua	ag-ko-bunuin	ag-ko-binu
Second person singular	Aligua mo-ka-pan-bunua	ag-mo-bunuin	ag-mo-binu
Third person singular...	Aligua to-ka-pan-bunua	ag-to-bunuin	ag-to-binu
First person plural	Aligua me-ka-pan-bunua	ag-me-bunuin	ag-me-binu
Second person plural...	Aligua dyo-ka-pan-bunua	ag-dyo-bunuin	ag-dyo-binu
Third person plural	Aligua cha-ka-pan-bunua	ag-cha-bunuin	ag-cha-binu
Imperative, <i>ag-mo bunuín</i>			

Root, *Asak*, To PLANT

AGENT EMPHASIZED

Form	Continuative tense	Present or future tense	Past tense
First person singular..	Aligua na-ka aman asak	ikak manasak	ikak anasak
Second person singular	Aligua ka-ka aman asak	ag-ka manasak	ag-ka anasak
Third person singular..	Aligua to-ka aman asak	ag-to manasak	ag-to anasak
First person plural	Aligua kame ka aman asak	ag-kame manasak	ag-kame anasak
Second person plural..	Aligua kayo ka aman asak	ag-kayo manasak	ag-kayo anasak
Third person plural ...	Aligua era ka aman asak	ag-era manasak	ag-era anasak

Imperative, *ag-ka manasak*

NOTE. —The foregoing note applies equally to this paradigm.

OBJECT EMPHASIZED

First person singular..	Aligua na-kapan-iasak	ag-ko iasak	ag-ko inasak
Second person singular,	Aligua mo-kapan-iasak	ag-mo iasak	ag-mo inasak
Third person singular..	Aligua to-kapan-iasak	ag-to iasak	ag-to inasak
First person plural	Aligua me-kapan-iasak	ag-me iasak	ag-me inasak
Second person plural...	Aligua dyo-kapan-iasak	ag-dyo iasak	ag-dyo inasak
Third person plural ...	Aligua cha-kapan-iasak	ag-cha iasak	ag-cha inasak

Imperative, *ag-mo iasak*

THE PASSIVE VOICE

Bunu, To KILL

Form	I am killed (present or future tense), etc.	I was (or have been) killed, etc.
First person singular.....	Mabunu-ak	abunu-ak
Second person singular	Mabunu-ka	abunu-ka
Third person singular.....	Mabunu-to	abunu-to
First person plural	Mabunu-kame	abunu-kame
Second person plural.....	Mabunu-kayo	abunu-kayo
Third person plural	Mabu u-era	abunu-era

Examples

Mabunu-ak nem kabuasan I shall be killed to-morrow.
Guara sarrei a too abunu There is a man killed.

Another rendering of the passive voice and one apparently more in use is according to the following examples:

Chà-ak-ka-panbunua They are killing me; or, I am being killed by them.
Cha-ka-ka-panbunuu They are killing you; or, you are being killed by them.
Cha-kame-ka-panbunua They are killing us; or, we are being killed by them.
Cha-ka-panbunua sun sikara They are killing them; or, they are being killed by them.

PAST TENSE

Binunu-cha-ak They killed me; or, I was killed by them.
Binunu-cha sun sikáto They killed him; or, he was killed by them.
Binunu-cha sun sikayo They killed you; or, you were killed by them.

CONJUGATION OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

Root, *Kalbig*, TO STRIKE WITH THE FIST

Agent emphasized	Object emphasized
<i>I am striking with the fist, etc.</i>	<i>Is being struck by me with the fist, etc.</i>
Na-ka ama-ngalbig Ka-ka ama-ngalbig To-ka ama-ngalbig Kame ka ama-ngalbig Kayo ka ama-ngalbig Era ka ama ngalbig	Na-ka pan-kalbiga Mo-ka pan-kalbiga To-ka pan-kalbiga Me-ka pan-kalbiga Dyo-ka pan-kalbiga Cha-ka pan-kalbiga
<i>I struck with the fist, etc.</i>	<i>Was struck by me with the fist, etc.</i>
Angalbig-ak Angalbig-ka Angalbig-to Angalbig kame Angalbig kayo Angalbig era	Kinalbig-ko ¹ Kinalbig-mo Kinalbig-to Kinalbig-me Kinalbig-dyo Kinalbig-cha
<i>I strike with the fist (present or future), etc.</i>	<i>Is struck by me with the fist (present or future), etc.</i>
Mangalbig-ak Mangalbig-ka Mangalbig-to Mangalbig kame Mangalbig kayo Mangalbig era	Kalbigen-ko Kalbigen-mo Kalbigen-to Kalbigen-me Kalbigen-dyo Kalbigen-cha

¹ Also pronounced *kinilbig-ko*.

Conjugation of the transitive verb, root "*kalbig*" (to strike with the fist), with object expressed by a personal pronoun

	I am striking	I struck	I strike
Thee	ta ka kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-ta ka	kalbigen-ta ka
Him	na kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-ko sun sikáto	kalbigen-ko sun sikáto
You	ta kayo kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-ta kayo	kalbigen-ta kayo
Them	na kapan kalbiga sun sikara	kinalbig-ko era; or, kinalbig-ko sun sikara	kalbigen-ko era
	Thou art striking	Thou struckest	Thou strikest
Me	mo ak kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-mo ak	kalbigen-mo ak
Him	mo kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-mo sun sikáto	kalbigen-mo sun sikáto
Us	mo kame kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-mo kame	kalbigen-mo kame
Them	mo era kapan kalbiga; or, mo kapan kalbiga sun sikara	kinalbig-mo era; or, kinalbig-mo sun sikara	kalbigen-mo sun sikara

Conjugation of the transitive verb, root "kalbig," etc.—Continued

	He is striking	He struck	He strikes
Me	to ak kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-to ak	kalbigen-to ak
Thee	to ka kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-to ka	kalbigen-to ka
Him	to kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-to sun sikáto	kalbigen-to sun sikáto
Us	to kame kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-to kame	kalbigen-to kame
You	to kayo kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-to kayo	kalbigen-to kayo
Them	to era kapan kalbiga; or, to kapan kalbiga sun sikara	kinalbig-to era; or, kinalbig-to sun sikara	kalbigen-to era; or, kalbigen-to sun sikara
	We are striking ¹	We struck	We strike
Thee	me ka kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-me ka	kalbigen-me ka
Him	me kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-me sun sikáto	kalbigen-me sun sikáto
You	me kayo kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-me kayo	kalbigen-me kayo
Them	me era kapan kalbiga; or, me kapan kalbiga sun sikara	kinalbig-me era	kalbigen-me era; or, kalbigen-me sun sikara
	You are striking ²	You struck	You strike
Me	dyo ak kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-dyo ak	kalbigen-dyo ak
Him	dyo kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-dyo sun sikáto	kalbigen-dyo sun sikáto
Us	dyo kame kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-dyo kame	kalbigen-dyo kame
Them	dyo era kapan kalbiga; or, dyo kapan kalbiga sun sikara	kinalbig-dyo era; or, ki- nalbig-dyo sun sikara	kalbigen-dyo era; or, kalbigen-dyo sun sikara
	They are striking ³	They struck	They strike
Me	cha ak kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-cha ak	kalbigen-cha ak
Thee	cha ka kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-cha ka	kalbigen-cha ka
Him	cha kapan kalbiga sun sikáto	kinalbig-cha sun sikáto	kalbigen-cha sun sikáto
Us	cha kame kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-cha kame	kalbigen-cha kame
You	cha kayo kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-cha kayo	kalbigen-cha kayo
Them	cha kapan kalbiga sun sikara; or, cha era kapan kalbiga	kinalbig-cha sun sikara	kalbigen-cha sun sikara

¹ Thou and I, we . . . Sikam tan sikak, kita . . .

He and I, we . . . Sikáto tan sikak, me . . .

Ye and I, we . . . Sikayo tan sikak, tayo . . .

They and I, we . . . Sikara tan sikak, me . . .

² You (dual), sikayo'n chua, dyo . . .³ They (dual), sikara'n chua, cha . . .

NOTE.—The neutral pronoun "it" is generally not expressed: "Did he strike the letter with the fist?" (*Kinalbig-to e sulat?*) "Yes; he struck it." (*On, kinalbig-to or kinalbig-to so, in which last case so might be the equivalent of "it."*)

Further examples of transitive verbs

Na-kapan kana tinapai.

(a) I am eating bread.

Mo-kapan kana tinapai.

(b) You are eating bread.

Sikam tan sikak, tayo kapan kana tinapai.

(c) You and I are eating bread.

Me-kapan kana tinapai.

(d) We are eating bread.

Cha-kapan kana tinapai.

(e) They are eating bread.

The past tense of the continuative form emphasizing the object can to my knowledge be rendered only by adding *mutan*, meaning "some time ago," to the present tense as given in sentences (a)-(e).

I was eating bread.

You were eating bread.

You and I were eating bread.

We were eating bread.

They were eating bread.

Si Kuan pan kanai tinapai.

Si Kuan pan kanai aapag.

Si Kuan pan kanai ikan.

Si Kuan pan sidiupa chigu.

E kabadyo pan kanai tige.

E baka pan kanai adét.

E páiyad pan kanai tige.

E páiyad pan kanai bekás.

Na-ka-aman inom ne chanum.

Anginom-ak ne chanum.

Manginom-ak ne chanum asanem.

Si Kuan aman inom ne chanum.

E kabadyo aman inom ne chanum.

E ngiau aman inom ne chanum.

E asu aman inom ne chanum.

E páiyad aman inom ne chanum.

E kabadyo tinábui-to e ának.

Sman a kabadyo tabúien-to-ka.

Nak-manganúb sazei a marágoas.

Nak-mamúlo ne bued.

Nak-mamúltog ne kuat.

Nak-mamúltog ne párao.

John is eating bread.

John is eating meat.

John is eating fish.

John is eating soup.

The horse is eating corn.

The cow is eating grass.

The bird is eating corn.

The bird is eating rice.

I am drinking water.

I have drunk water.

I will drink water.

John is drinking water.

The horse is drinking water.

The cat is drinking water.

The dog is drinking water.

The bird is drinking water.

The horse threw the boy.

That horse will throw you.

I will go hunting deer.

I will go hunting mountain rats (in traps).

I will go shooting quails.

I will go shooting eagles.

It must be borne in mind that the preceding English sentences can be rendered in Nabaloi with the help of two different verbal forms, according to whether the subject or the object is emphasized. In the first sentence, *Na-ka-pan kanai tinapai*, it will be found (by referring to the first table, root *bunu*) that the object is the accentuated part. If the subject were to be accentuated the sentence would be *Na-ka amá ngan ne tinapai* (past tense, *Aná-ngan-ak ne tinapai*).

INTRANSITIVE VERBS

To be thirsty

	I am thirsty	I was thirsty	I will be thirsty
I	na-ka aman akou	naakou-ak	maakou-ak
You	ka-ka aman akou	naakou-ka	maakou-ka
Thou and I	sikam tan sikak ka aman akou	sikam tan sikak, na-akou kita	sikam tan sikak, maakou kita
He	aman akou-to	naakou-to	maakou-to
He and I	sikáto tan sikak ka aman akou	sikáto tan sikak, na-akou kame	sikáto tan sikak, maakou kame
Ye (dual)	kayo ka aman akou a chua	naakou kayo a chua	maakou kayo a chua
They (dual)	era ka aman akou a chua	naakou era'n chua	maakou era'n chua
We (ye and I)	sikatayo ka aman akou	sikatayo naakou; or, naakou tayo	sikatayo maakou; or, maakou tayo
We (they and I)	sikame ka aman akou	naakou kame	maakou kame
Ye (plural)	kayo ka aman akou	naakou-kayo	maakou kayo
They (plural)	era ka aman akou	naakou-era	maakou era

Aman akou si Kuan, John is thirsty

Aman akou e kabadyo, The horse is thirsty

To be hungry

	I am hungry	I was hungry	I will be hungry
I	na-ka aman akang	naakang-ak	maakang-ak
You	ka-ka aman akang	naakang-ka	maakang-ka
Thou and I	sikam tan sikak ka aman akang	sikam tan sikak, na-akang kita	sikam tan sikak, maakang kita
He	sikáto aman akang; or, aman akang-to	naakang-to	maakang-to
He and I	sikáto tan sikak ka aman akang	sikáto tan sikak, na-akang kame	sikáto tan sikak, maakang kame
Ye (dual)	kayo ka aman akang a chua	naakang kayo a chua	maakang kayo a chua
They (dual)	sikara'n chua aman akang; or, era ka aman akang a chua	naakang era'n chua	maakang era'n chua
We (ye and I)	sikatayo ka aman akang	sikatayo naakang; or, naakang tayo	sikatayo maakang; or, maakang tayo
We (they and I)	sikame ka aman akang	naakang kame	maakang kame
Ye (plural)	kayo ka aman akang	naakang kayo	maakang kayo
They (plural)	sikara aman akang; or, era ka aman akang	naakang era	maakang era

Aman akang si Kuan, John is hungry
Aman akang e kabadyo, The horse is hungry

NOTE.—In all forms *akang* is also pronounced *agang*. In *na-ka aman akang* the *ka* is mostly pronounced *ra*; the same applies to all paradigms where *na-ka aman* occurs.

Further examples of intransitive verbs

<i>Na-ka aman kaneng tan ningning.</i>	I am standing and looking.
<i>Inan kaneng-to tan ningning-to.</i>	He was standing and looking.
<i>Na-ka aman tungao tan ama-ngan.</i>	I am sitting and eating.
<i>Inan tungao-to tan aná-ngan.</i>	He was sitting and eating.
<i>Inan kaneng-to tan to kapan aknian sazei a paltog.</i>	He was standing and holding a gun.
<i>Inaknian-to paltog.</i>	He held a gun.
<i>Insilip-to paltog.</i>	He pointed a gun.
<i>Inan kaneng-to tan to-kapan isilip paltog.</i>	He was standing and pointing a gun.
<i>E anak inan ningis tan aná-ngan.</i>	The boy was crying and eating.
<i>Ni Kuan aman arat tan amang ngisiu.</i>	John is walking and whistling.
<i>Aman tayab e payad.</i>	The bird is flying.
<i>Aman kukúchap e ulæg.</i>	The snake is crawling.
<i>Aman ngaikai e ikan.</i>	The fish is swimming.
<i>Aman búdu e asu.</i>	The dog is barking.
<i>Aman ngidigni e kabadyo.</i>	The horse is neighing.
<i>Aman ngigid (or aman asel) e purao.</i>	The eagle is screaming.
<i>Aman ngakngak e bakbaran.</i>	The frog is croaking.
<i>Aman biing e podiokan.</i>	The bee is humming.
<i>Na-ka aman asel.</i>	I am talking.
<i>Inan asel-ak.</i>	I was talking.
<i>Nanasel-ak.</i>	I have talked.
<i>Mangasel-ak asanem.</i>	I will talk.

<i>Inan asel-ka nuntan.</i>	You were talking.
<i>Sikátó aman asel.</i>	He is talking.
<i>Si Kuan aman asel.</i>	John is talking.
<i>Na-ka aman ningis.¹</i>	I am crying.
<i>Inan nangis-ak.</i>	I was crying.
<i>Nanningis-ak.</i>	I have cried.
<i>Mannangis-ak asanem.</i>	I will cry.
<i>Inan ningis-ka.</i>	You were crying.
<i>Sikátó aman nangis.</i>	He is crying.
<i>Aman nangis si Kuan.</i>	John is crying.
<i>Na-ka aman badeu.</i>	I am singing.
<i>Inan badeu-ak.</i>	I was singing.
<i>Nanbadeu-ak.</i>	I have sung.
<i>Manbadeu-ak asanem.</i>	I will sing.
<i>Inan badeu-ak.</i>	You were singing.
<i>Nanbadeu-ka.</i>	You have sung.
<i>Sikátó aman badeu.</i>	He is singing.
<i>Si Kuan aman badeu.</i>	John is singing.
<i>Si Kuan aman keldiau.</i>	John is shouting.
<i>Na-ka aman keldiau.</i>	I am shouting.
<i>Inan keldiau-ak.</i>	I was shouting.
<i>Nankeldiau-ak.</i>	I have shouted.
<i>Mangkeldiau-ak asanem.</i>	I will shout.
<i>Inan keldiau ka.</i>	You were shouting.
<i>Sikátó aman keldiau.</i>	He is shouting.
<i>Si Kuan aman keldiau.</i>	John is shouting.
<i>Na-ka aman tutúbo.</i>	I am whispering.
<i>Inan tutúbo-ak.</i>	I was whispering.
<i>Nantutúbo-ak.</i>	I have whispered.
<i>Mantutúbo-ak asanem.</i>	I will whisper.
<i>Inan tutúbo ka.</i>	You were whispering.
<i>Sikátó aman tutúbo.</i>	He is whispering.
<i>Si Kuan aman tutúbo.</i>	John is whispering.
<i>Na-ka ama-ngingi.</i>	I am laughing.
<i>Inan ngingi-ak.</i>	I was laughing.
<i>Nanningi-ak.</i>	I have laughed.
<i>Manningingi-ak asanem.</i>	I will laugh.
<i>Inan ngingi-ka.</i>	You were laughing.
<i>Sikátó ama-ngingi.</i>	He is laughing.
<i>Si Kuan ama-ngingi.</i>	John is laughing.
<i>Na-ka ama-mangid-ak.</i>	I am smiling.
<i>Inan mangid-ak.</i>	I was smiling.
<i>Manmangid-ak asanem.</i>	I will smile.
<i>Inan mangid-ka.</i>	You were smiling.
<i>Sikátó ama-mangid.</i>	He is smiling.
<i>Si Kuan ama-mangid.</i>	John is smiling.
<i>Na-ka aman akad.</i>	I am walking.
<i>Inan akad-ak.</i>	I was walking.
<i>Nanaxach' ak.</i>	I have walked.
<i>Manakár-ak.</i>	I will walk.
<i>Anázach'ak, or anákar'ak.</i>	I am off.
<i>Inan akad-ka.</i>	You were walking.

¹The root word is differently heard as *nangis* or *ningis*.

<i>Sikáto aman akad.</i>	He is walking.
<i>Si Kuan aman akad.</i>	John is walking.
<i>Aman aadunai e kulpot.</i>	The cloud is drifting (slowly).
<i>Aman bubtik e kulpot.</i>	The cloud is flying (fast).
<i>Si Kuan amang ngisiu.</i>	John is whistling.
<i>Si Kuan aman bubtik.</i>	John is running.
<i>Aman dátok si Kuan.</i>	John is jumping.
<i>Aman akad e kabadyo.</i>	The horse is walking.
<i>Aman bubtik e kabadyo.</i>	The horse is running.
<i>Manúchan niman.</i>	It rains now.
<i>Inan úran kachiman.</i>	It rained yesterday.
<i>Anúran kabuasan.</i>	It will rain to-morrow.
<i>Nem anúran niman adáui ag-ak-andao.</i>	If it rains to-night I shall not go.
<i>Aman-dánte niman.</i>	It hails now.
<i>Inan-dánte kachiman.</i>	It hailed yesterday.
<i>Mandánte kabuasan.</i>	It will hail to-morrow.
<i>Nem mandánte niman adáui ag-ak-andao.</i>	If it hails to-night I shall not go.
<i>Tagin niman.</i>	It is cold now.
<i>Tagin kachiman.</i>	It was cold yesterday.
<i>Antagin nem kabuasan.</i>	It will be cold to-morrow.
<i>Nem tagin kabuasan ag-ak-andao.</i>	If it is cold to-morrow I shall not go.
<i>Ampetáng niman.</i>	It is warm now.
<i>Ampetáng kachiman.</i>	It was warm yesterday.
<i>Ampetáng ammo¹ nem kabuasan.</i>	It will be warm to-morrow.
<i>Nem ampetáng kabuasan ag-ak-andao.</i>	If it is warm to-morrow I shall not go.
<i>Guarai chagæm chi amiánan.</i>	The north wind blows.
<i>Aman chagæm chi chaya niman.</i>	The east wind is blowing.
<i>Guarai chagæm chi dát kachiman.</i>	The west wind was blowing yesterday.
<i>Guara ammo chagæm chi abagátan nem kabuasan.</i>	The south wind will blow to-morrow.
<i>Pigan inaxat-mo chi balei-mo?</i>	When did you go home?
<i>Aman mutok chi balei-to.</i>	He is coming home.
<i>Mimútok chi balei-to.</i>	He came home.
<i>Anmútok chi balei-to asanem.</i>	He will come home.
<i>Baibatim anaxat chi balei-to.</i>	Let him go home.
<i>Impakéto-ak amangan.</i>	He asked me to eat.
<i>Tagualin-ko mangan-to.</i>	I will ask him to eat.
<i>Tinagual-ta-ka mangan.</i>	I asked you to eat.
<i>Tagualin-ta-ka asanem mangan.</i>	I will ask you to eat.

REFLEXIVE FORMS

To strike one's self with the fist

	I am striking myself, etc.	I struck myself, etc.	I shall strike myself, etc.
I	na-ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig-ak	mang-kalbig-ak
You	ka-ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig-ka	mang-kalbig-ka
He	to-ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig-to, or, si- kátó man-kalbig	mang-kalbig-to
We	kame ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig kame	mang-kalbig kame
You (plural)	kayo ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig kayo	mang-kalbig kayo
They	era ka aman kalbig	inan kalbig era	mang-kalbig era

¹ Ammo has the meaning of "probably:" *Ón ammo*, Yes, it seems so.

To strike each other with the fist

	You and I are striking each other with the fist	You and I struck each other with the fist	You and I will strike each other with the fist
Thou and I -----	sikam tan sikak, kita ka aman-kinálbig	sikam tan sikak, kita inan kinálbig	sikam tan sikak, man-kinálbig kitá asanem
He and I -----	sikáto tan sikak, kame ka aman-kinálbig	sikáto tan sikak, kame inan kinálbig	sikáto tan sikak, man-kinálbig kame asanem
Ye (dual) -----	sikayo'n chus, kayo ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig kayo chus	mankinálbig kayo chus asanem
They (dual) -----	sikara'n chus era ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig era'n chus	mankinálbig era'n chus asanem
We (ye and I) ----	sikayo tan sikak, tayo ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig tayo	mankinálbig tayo asanem
We (they and I) --	sikara tan sikak, kame ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig kame	mankinálbig kame asanem
You -----	kayo ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig kayo	inankinálbig kayo asanem
They -----	era ka aman kinálbig	inan kinálbig era	mankinálbig era asanem

VARIOUS VERBAL FORMS

To strike (used with varying intensity)

	John is striking James	John struck James	John will strike James
Said positively ----	si Kuan pankalbiga sun Kaime	si Kuan inankálbig-to sun Kaime	si Kuan kálbigen-to sun Kaime asanem
Said doubtfully ---	si Kuan pankalbiga am mo ¹ sun Kaime	si Kuan inankálbig-to ammo sun Kaime	si Kuan kálbigen-to ammo sun Kaime asanem
Statement made on hearsay	si Kuan konó ² pankalbiga sun Kaime	si Kuan konó inankálbig-to sun Kaime	si Kuan konó kálbigen-to sun Kaime asanem
James (while he is running)	si Kuan pankalbiga sun Kaime nunta amam búbtik	si Kuan inankálbig-to sun Kaime nunta amam búbtik	si Kuan kálbigen-to sun Kaime asanem nunta amam búbtik

¹ Ammo, it seems.
² Konó, it is said; also, *kuancha*, they say (I., kanó, an impersonal passive verb, meaning "it is said").

Negative and imperative forms; permission

<i>Si Kuan ag-to inankálbig sun Kaime.</i>	John did not strike James.
<i>Kuan, mo-kálbig sun Kaime.</i>	John, strike James (commanding).
<i>Kuan, mo-ga-kálbig sun Kaime.¹</i>	John, strike James (beseeching).
<i>Si Kuan mabandin-to kalbigen sun Kaime.²</i>	John may strike James (giving permission).

¹ The beseeching sense I here attribute to the infix *ga* is only inferred from its colloquial use, but I have no absolute certainty of it.

² *Mábdán* may, *cau* (I., mabalin).

Forms expressing desire, duty; also frequentative and causative forms¹

<i>Si Kuan pian-to kalbigen sun Kaime.</i>	John desires to strike James.
<i>Si Kuan pinian-to kalbigen sun Kaime.</i>	John desired to strike James.
<i>Si Kuan sigucho pian-to kalbigen sun Kaime.</i>	John will desire to strike James.
<i>Si Kuan sigard nem pankalbigen-to sun Kaime.</i>	John ought to be striking James.
<i>Si Kuan sigard nem mankalbig-to sun Kaime kabuasan.</i>	John ought to strike James to-morrow.
<i>Si Kuan sigard nem kinalbig-to sun Kaime kachiman.</i>	John ought to have struck James yesterday.
<i>Si Kuan to-ka-pan-kalbigen ulai sun Kaime.</i>	John is frequently striking James.
<i>Si Kuan inan kalbig-to ni ulai sun Kaime.</i>	John frequently struck James.
<i>Si Kuan kalbigen-to ni ulai sun Kaime asanem.</i>	John will frequently strike James.
<i>Si Kuan e makapuan sai kalbigen nan Kaime.</i>	John is causing James to strike.
<i>Si Kuan inakpuan-to sai kalbigen nan Kaime.</i>	John caused James to strike.
<i>Si Kuan makpuan asanem sai kalbigen nan Kaime.</i>	John will cause James to strike.
<i>Si Kaime pian-to isikdiat sun Kuan.</i>	James desires to kick John.
<i>Si Kaime pinian-to isikdiat sun Kuan.</i>	James desired to kick John.
<i>Si Kaime sigucho pian-to isikdiat sun Kuan.</i>	James will desire to kick John.
<i>Si Kaime sigard nem mansikdiat-to sun Kuan.</i>	James ought to be kicking John.
<i>Si Kaime sigard nem isikdiat-to sun Kuan kabuasan.</i>	James ought to kick John to-morrow.
<i>Si Kaime sigard nem insikdiat-to sun Kuan kachiman.</i>	James ought to have kicked John yesterday.
<i>Si Kaime to-ka-pan isikdiat ni ulai sun Kuan.</i>	James is frequently striking John.
<i>Si Kaime inan isikdiat-to ni ulai sun Kuan.</i>	James frequently struck John.
<i>Si Kaime isikdiat-to ni ulai sun Kuan.</i>	James will frequently strike John.
<i>Si Kaime e makapuan sai isikdiat nan Kuan.</i>	James is causing John to strike.
<i>Si Kaime inakpuan-to sai isikdiat nan Kuan.</i>	James caused John to strike.
<i>Si Kaime makpuan asanem sai isikdiat nan Kuan.</i>	James will cause John to strike.
<i>Sikak e makapuan dya sikáto ikaspig sazei a bató.</i>	I cause him to throw a stone.
<i>Inakpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to sazei a bató kachiman.</i>	I caused him to throw a stone yesterday.

¹ Among these sentences there are some which, while grammatically correct, would sound strange to Igorot ears. I could and would have translated the English text more freely, but have preferred to introduce a certain stiffness rather than lose sight of what to me appeared the real object of these examples, namely, to afford a comparative insight into the skeleton of the Igorot language. The same remark applies to many other sentences given as illustrations.

<i>Sikak makpuan asanem dya ikaspig-to sazei a bató kabuasan.</i>	I will cause him to throw a stone to-morrow.
<i>Makpuan-ak dya isúman-to e kadúbong-to chi damisáan niman.</i>	I cause him to put his hat on the table now.
<i>Inakpuan-ak dya isuman-to kadúbong-to chi damisáan kachiman.</i>	I caused him to put his hat on the table yesterday.
<i>Makpuan-ak dya isuman-to e kadúbong-to chi damisáan nem kabuasan.</i>	I will cause him to put his hat on the table to-morrow.
<i>Makpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to sazei a pápa niman.</i>	I cause him to throw a club now.
<i>Inakpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to sazei a pápa kachiman.</i>	I caused him to throw a club yesterday.
<i>Makpuan-ak dya ikaspig-to sazei a pápa kabuasan.</i>	I will cause him to throw a club to-morrow.
<i>Páknan-ko sun sikáto niman.</i>	I cause him to eat now (as meaning I give him to eat now).
<i>Pinakán-ko sun sikáto kachiman.</i>	I caused him to eat yesterday (as meaning I gave him to eat).
<i>Páknan-ko sun sikáto nem kabuasan.</i>	I will cause him to eat to-morrow (as meaning I will give him to eat).
<i>Paninom-ko sun sikáto niman.</i>	I cause him to drink now.
<i>Inpaninom-ko sun sikáto kachiman.</i>	I caused him to drink yesterday.
<i>Paninom-ko sun sikáto nem kabuasan.</i>	I will cause him to drink to-morrow.

FURTHER EXAMPLES OF THE COMBINATION OF ROOTS AND PARTICLES¹Root, *Apui*, FIRE

<i>Man-apui</i>	{ To be one who makes fire, <i>manapui-ka</i> . Imperative: "Make fire" (also "boil rice"). <i>Sepai e manapui?</i> "Who is the one that makes fire (that boils rice)?"	{ <i>Na-ka aman apui</i> <i>Nan apui-ak</i> <i>Manapui-ak</i>
<i>Mam-pa-apui</i>	{ To be one who orders fire to be made; <i>mam-paapui-ka</i> . Imperative: "Be the person who orders fire to be made;" "get fire made."	{ <i>Na-ka aman paapui</i> <i>Nan paapui-ak</i> <i>Mampaapui-ak</i>
<i>I-apui</i>	{ To be the thing to which fire is applied; <i>iapui-mo iai a bagás</i> (pronounced <i>bekás</i>). Imperative: "Let this rice be the thing to which you apply fire;" "boil this rice;" <i>iapui</i> generally has the sense of "to boil rice;" <i>inapui</i> = boiled rice, like English toast = toasted bread.	{ <i>Na-ka pan-iapui</i> <i>Inapui-ko</i> <i>Iapui-ko</i>
<i>Pa-i-apui</i>	{ To be the thing which is ordered to be boiled, <i>paipui-mo iai a bagás</i> . Imperative: "Let this rice be the thing which you order to be boiled;" "get this rice boiled."	{ <i>Na-ka paipui</i> <i>Imaipui-ko</i> <i>Paipui-ko</i>
<i>Apui-an</i>	To be the fireplace.	{ <i>Na-ka panapiian</i> <i>Inapiian-ko</i> <i>Apiian-ko</i>
<i>Pan-apui-an</i>	{ To be the place used for making fire; also to be the pot used for boiling. (Compare under "Roots and particles.")	{ <i>Na-ka panapiian</i> <i>Pinanapiian-ko</i> <i>Panapiian-ko</i>

¹ In the last column I give the three tenses in the first person singular.

Root, *Sudat*, THE WRITING

<i>Man-sudat</i>	{ To be the writer: <i>Sepai e manusudat niai?</i> "Who is the writer of this?"	{ <i>Na-ka aman sudat</i> <i>Nansudat-ak</i> <i>Mansudat-ak</i>
<i>Mam-pa-sudat</i>	{ To be one who orders another to write; <i>mampasudat-ka</i> . Imperative: "Order someone to write."	{ <i>Na-ka aman pasudat</i> <i>Nanpasudat-ak</i> <i>Mampasudat-ak</i>
<i>I-sudat</i>	{ To be the thing written down (or written about); <i>isudat-mo iai a bidin</i> . Imperative: "Write down this order."	{ <i>Na-ka pan isudat</i> <i>Insudat-ko</i> <i>Isudat-ko</i>
<i>Pa-i-sudat</i>	{ To be the thing about which to write an order is given; <i>pa-isudat-mo suta bidin</i> . Imperative: "Have that order written down."	{ <i>Na-ka paisudat</i> <i>Impaisudat-ko</i> <i>Paisudat-ko</i>

Root, *Datok*, LEAP

<i>Man-datok</i>	{ To be one who leaps; <i>mandatok-ka!</i> Imperative: "Leap!"	{ <i>Na-ka aman datok</i> <i>Nandatok-ak</i> <i>Mandatok-ak</i>
<i>Pa-datok</i>	{ To be that which is made, caused, or ordered to leap; <i>paidatok-mo e kabadyo</i> . Imperative: "Let the horse be that which you cause to leap;" "start the horse (over this creek)."	{ <i>Na-ka padatok</i> <i>Pinadatok-ko</i> <i>Padatok-ko</i>
<i>Mam-pa-datok</i>	{ To be one who causes or orders the leaping; <i>Sepai e mampadatok ne kabadyo?</i> "Who is it that causes the horse to jump?" "Who starts the horse (over the creek)?"	{ <i>Na-ka aman padatok</i> <i>Nanpadatok-ak</i> <i>Mampadatok-ak</i>
<i>I-datok</i>	{ To be the object in relation to which the leaping is done; <i>idatok-mo iai a anak</i> . Imperative: "Take this child in your arms and leap with it (over this creek)."	{ <i>Na-ka pan idatok</i> <i>Indatok-ko</i> <i>Idatok-ko</i>
<i>Pa-i-datok</i>	{ To be the object in relation to which the leaping is ordered to be done; <i>paidatok-mo iai a anak</i> . Imperative: "Have this child taken in arms by some person and let that person leap with it (over this creek)."	{ <i>Na-ka paidatok</i> <i>Impaidatok-ko</i> <i>Paidatok-ko</i>

Root, *Sisked*, WAIT

<i>Man-sisked</i>	{ To be one who waits; <i>mansisked-ka!</i> Imperative: "Wait!"	{ <i>Na-ka aman sisked</i> <i>Nansisked-ak</i> <i>Mansisked-ak</i>
<i>Mam-pa-sked</i>	{ To be one who orders to wait; <i>mampasked-ka ne polistas!</i> Imperative: "Order the 'polistas' ¹ to wait."	{ <i>Na-ka aman pasked</i> <i>Nanpasked-ak</i> <i>Mampasked-ak</i>
<i>Pa-sked</i>	{ To be that which is ordered, caused to wait; <i>pasked-mo nun sikato</i> . Imperative: "Tell him to wait."	{ <i>Na-ka pasked</i> <i>Pinasked-ko</i> <i>Pasked-ko</i>
<i>I-sisked</i>	{ To be the object of the process of waiting in a transitive sense; <i>isisked-mo kabadyok</i> . Imperative: "Keep my horse waiting (at the door against my arrival)." <i>Isisked</i> is not used in connection with a person as object, since it would mean that such person were to be bodily laid hold of and so kept waiting.	{ <i>Na-ka pan isisked</i> <i>Insisked-ko</i> <i>Isisked-ko</i>

¹ Polistas, forced laborers under Spanish rule.

<i>Sisker-en</i>	{ To be that which is awaited; <i>amak e siskeren-ko</i> . "I await my father."	{ <i>Na-ka pansiskera</i> <i>Sinisked-ko</i> <i>Siskeren-ko</i>
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Root, *Sibog*, IRRIGATION

<i>Man-ibog</i>	{ To be one who irrigates; <i>sepai e mani bog?</i> "Who is going to irrigate?"	{ <i>Na-ka aman-ibog</i> <i>Anibog-ak</i> <i>Manibog-ak</i>
<i>Mam-pa-sibog</i>	{ To be one who orders the irrigation; <i>mampasibog-ka sun sikara</i> . Imperative: "Tell them to irrigate."	{ <i>Na-ka aman pasibog</i> <i>Nanpasibog-ak</i> <i>Mampasibog-ak</i>
<i>Sibog-an</i>	{ To be the object of irrigation; <i>sibogan-mo e chifoldyo</i> . Imperative: "Water the cabbage" (Sp., repollo).	{ <i>Na-ka pan siboga</i> <i>Sinibogan-ko</i> <i>Sibogan-ko</i>
<i>I-sibog</i>	{ To be the thing with which the operation of irrigating is executed; <i>ag-mo tibung suta chanum; isibog-mo</i> . "Don't throw that water away; use it for watering."	{ <i>Na-ka panisibog</i> <i>Inisibog-ko</i> <i>Isibog-ko</i>

Root, *Kaldiau*, SHOUT

<i>Man-kaldiau</i>	To be one who shouts.	{ <i>Na-ka aman kaldiau</i> <i>Nankaldiau-ak</i> <i>Mankaldiau-ak</i>
<i>Kaldiau-an</i>	{ To be one who is shouted for; <i>kaldiauan-mo sun sikato</i> . "Shout for him."	{ <i>Na-ka pan kaldiaua</i> <i>Kinaldiauan-ko</i> <i>Kaldiauan-ko</i>
<i>I-kaldiau</i>	{ To be the object that gives cause for shouting. For instance, if a messenger departs forgetting the letter he is to carry, I would say to someone near me: <i>Ikaldiau-mo e sudat</i> . "Call him back by shouts to take the letter," or, more literally, "Let the letter be thy motive for shouting."	{ <i>Na-ka pan ikaldiau</i> <i>Inkaldiau-ko</i> <i>Ikaldiau-ko</i>

Root, *Nennem* (*Numnum*) MIND, THOUGHT

<i>Man-nennem</i>	{ To be one who thinks; <i>mannennem-ka</i> . Imperative: "Reflect, consider."	{ <i>Na-ka ama nennem</i> <i>Nannennem-ak</i> <i>Mannennem-ak</i>
<i>Nennem-an</i>	{ To be the object of thinking; <i>ngaramto mo-ka-pan nennema?</i> "Of what are you thinking?"	{ <i>Na-ka pan nennema</i> <i>Innennem-ak</i> <i>Nennem-an-ko</i>
<i>I-nennem</i>	{ To be the thing of which one is mindful; <i>inennem-mo suta inkuan-ko</i> . "Be mindful of what I have said."	{ <i>Na-ka pan innennem</i> <i>Ninennem-ko</i> <i>Inennem-ko</i>

"TO BE" AND "TO HAVE"

To be present, to be extant, to find one's self

<i>Guara-ak</i>	I am	<i>Guara kame</i>	We are
<i>Guara-ku</i>	Thou art	<i>Guara kayo</i>	You are
<i>Guara-to</i>	He is	<i>Guara era</i>	They are

<i>Turai balei-mo?</i>	Where is your house? Where do you live?
<i>Guara e balei-ko chi Bagio.</i>	My house is in Baguio. I live in Baguio.
<i>Guara e atak-mo?</i>	Have you got your cleaver with you?
<i>Guara.</i>	I have.
<i>Guara chanum?</i>	Is there water?
<i>Anchi chanum.</i>	There is no water.
<i>Guara's amam chi balei?</i>	Is your father in the house?
<i>Guara.</i>	He is.
<i>Suta gadyem-mo guara chiai nuntan.</i>	Your friend was here some time ago.
<i>Nem guara-ak chi Manida mansudat-ak.</i>	If I shall be in Manila I will write.

To have, to possess

<i>Guara anan-ak (guaranak) I have</i>	<i>Guara anan kame We have</i>
<i>Guara anan-ka Thou hast</i>	<i>Guara anan kayo You have</i>
<i>Guara anan-to He has</i>	<i>Guara anan era They have</i>
<i>Guara anan-ak ne sarei a ama.</i>	I have a father.
<i>Guara anan-ka ne chua'n dima.</i>	Thou hast two hands.
<i>Guara anan era ne achaxrl baka.</i>	They have many cows.
<i>Guara anan tayo ne kabadyo.</i>	We (you and I) have horses.
<i>Guara anan kame ne oma.</i>	We (he and I, or they and I) have fields.
<i>Guara anan-ak ne sarei a balei, chi Bagio nuntan.</i>	I had formerly a house at Baguio.
<i>Guara anan-to ne sarei a balei, chi Bagio suta taöen alé.</i>	He will have a house at Baguio next year.
<i>Guara anan-ka ne sarei a asu?</i>	Hast thou a dog?
<i>Anchi anan-ak ne asu.</i>	I have no dog.

*Further examples of the rendering of the English copula "to be"*¹

<i>Kadubong-ko iai.</i>	This is my hat.
<i>Oman iai.</i>	This is thy field.
<i>Balei-to iman.</i>	That is his house.
<i>Asu ni Kuan iai.</i>	This is John's dog.
<i>Kabadyok iman.</i>	Those are my horses.
<i>Sikáto dari.</i>	He is a man.
<i>Sikáto dazi nuntan.</i>	He was a man.
<i>Dazi ammo asanem.</i>	He will be a man.
<i>Guasai sutan.</i>	It is an ax.
<i>Sikáto e amak nuntan.</i>	He was my father.
<i>Sikáto e inam nuntan.</i>	She was your mother.
<i>Ama-to's Kuan (or ámato si Kuan).</i>	John is his father.
<i>Agi-to's Kaime.</i>	James is his brother.
<i>Agi-to's Maria.</i>	Mary is his sister.

¹ Compare footnote to examples under "The article."

<i>Aságoak si Maria nem asanem.</i>	Mary will be my wife.
<i>Aságoak si Kuan nem asanem.</i>	John will be my husband.
<i>Matákal alé.</i>	He is a brave man.
<i>Aragui alé?</i>	Is it far?

INTERJECTIONS

<i>Ārǎ!</i>	} Surprise or astonishment either with admiration or with disappointment.
<i>Āsǎ!</i>	
<i>Āi ǎrǎ!</i>	
<i>Ādō!</i>	} Astonishment with disapproval or regret.
<i>Ādā!</i>	
<i>Ai-aiyō!</i>	
<i>Ai-dǎdǎdǎ!</i>	
<i>Tē-tē!</i>	
<i>Ā-tē!</i>	} Encouragement; also urging a request.
<i>Te-oh!</i>	
<i>Tētētētē!</i>	

ON THE TRAIL TO BENGUET

[A conversation with Igorot carriers.]

<i>Oi! tokala!</i>	I say! Just come here!
<i>Twai balei-mo?</i>	Where is your home?
<i>Ibingnet-ak.</i>	I am from Benguet.
<i>Pian-mo manuyon sun sikak?</i>	Will you be a carrier for me?
<i>Ikak pian (agak pian) tap inabde-ak;</i> <i>tap guara da uyon ko.</i>	I do not want to because I am tired; because I have already a load.
<i>Ngaramto udyon-mo?</i>	What is your load?
<i>Guara udyon-ko'n asin ne baknang-ko.</i>	I have a load of salt for my headman.
<i>Anchi kadguam?</i>	Have you no companions?
<i>Guara.</i>	I have.
<i>Papiga kayo?</i>	How many are you?
<i>Annem kame.</i>	We are six.
<i>Mango suta kadguam, guara ngo uyon</i> <i>cha?</i>	Well, then, and those companions—have they loads too?
<i>Taguei era.</i>	I don't know about them.
<i>Tagual-mo kadguam.</i>	Call your companions.
<i>Taguei e kaanan cha.</i>	I do not know their whereabouts.
<i>Twai okipan-dyo chiai (or twai dyo-ka</i> <i>okifa diai)?</i>	Where is your sleeping place here?
<i>Chi balei ni Capitan N.</i>	In the house of Capitan N.
<i>A-té, andao kita, manudup-ka.</i>	Come along; let us go; be my com- panion.
<i>Kapangdu-ka, ipangdum e chalan.</i>	Go in front and lead the way.
<i>Oi! pian-dyo manuyon sun sikak?</i>	Look here! Will you be my carriers?
<i>Anchikchal kame.</i>	We do not want to.
<i>Sepai e kapisildia (Sp., cabecilla) dyo?</i>	Who of you is the leader?
<i>Iman.</i>	That one over there.

<i>Sepai ngaram-to?</i>	What is his name? ¹
<i>Si Madiano e ngaram-to.</i>	Mariano is his name.
<i>Ngantoi ag-dyo-pian manuyon sun sikak?</i>	Why will you not carry for me?
<i>Guara uyunan-me e asin.</i>	We have to carry salt.
<i>Anken taddo kayo bingad.</i>	Even three of you only (would do for me).
<i>Baichan-ta kadio'n mapteng.</i>	I will pay you well.
<i>Piga?</i>	How much?
<i>Angken mamisus kayo.</i>	(I would not mind) even one peso for each of you.
<i>Kulang.²</i>	That is insufficient.
<i>Ngaram-to e kalkam (Sp., carga)?</i>	What kind of loads have you?
<i>Guara saœi a isamen na inaikalot tan saœi a kaon (Sp., cajon) dya chadgua e anuyon so.</i>	There is a bundle tied up in a mat and a box which must be carried by two.
<i>Ara! Mandikat e chalan tan abadeg e chanum chi Nagildiang.</i>	Bless me! The road is very difficult and the water at Nagiliang fearfully high [a river ford on the trail].
<i>Suta anuyon ne kaon achumanko e dag-bo cha ne bintin.</i>	For those who carry the box I will increase the pay by 25 cents, Mexican.
<i>A-té! Ipaasas-ko e kalka; té! manudup.</i>	Come, I'll show you the loads; make haste and come along.
<i>Panumkal kayo ne chuan kalusod panguyon ne kaon.</i>	Get two sticks bought to serve for carrying the box.
<i>Pigan e iazad mo?</i>	What time will be your departure?
<i>Niman.</i>	Now, at once.
<i>Kabuasan palbangun.</i>	To-morrow, early.
<i>Ampetang e chalan niman.</i>	The road is too hot now.
<i>Ag kame angan.</i>	We have not yet eaten.
<i>Anokip kame chi Sabdan.</i>	We shall sleep in Sablan.
<i>Panizadut dyo iai.</i>	Tie this together.
<i>Twai chagim.</i>	Where is your <i>chagi</i> (a sort of carrying rack)?
<i>Asé! anbulat!</i>	Lord! but that is heavy!
<i>Aliqua'n ambulat; angkádias.</i>	It is not heavy at all; it is quite light.
<i>Ag-mabadín.</i>	It is impossible.
<i>Mabadín.</i>	It is possible.
<i>Anchi balon-me.</i>	We have no provisions for the road.
<i>Kikak e maqamta.</i>	I will look out for that.
<i>Iai a alintarós (Sp., treintados cuartos) itumkaldyo ne kanin-dyo.</i>	For these 20 cents, Mexican, you may buy your food.
<i>Até-o! na akou!</i>	Get up! It is daylight!
<i>Mangan tayo chi chalan (or chalan e panganan tayo).</i>	We shall eat on the road.
<i>Twai chalan?</i>	Which is the road?

¹ As many Ibalois dislike to pronounce their own names, it is expedient to ask a man's name from bystanders.

² An Igorot would never forgive himself for having accepted even the most advantageous terms without first protesting against their utter insufficiency with the time-sacred word *kulang*, pronounced with a mien of offended candor. The bargain once struck is, however, the more faithfully kept by him the less civilized he is.

Anchi dinibkan-dyo?
Padok e panchalchingan tayo.

Ngaran niai.
Sadiai e kuan-me . . .
Aknim nin iai.
Ag-ka-nin.
Isapám e uyon-mo.

Dakbáoim iai.
Ukasim iai.
Ikadot-mo múan.
Twai kanin-ko?
Inakas ammo chí chalan.

Guara sun sikáto.
Aneng e achum.
Inai-arágui e kaet-me.
Aragui nin ale?
Aragui ne ootik.
Anchi chanum? Pian-ko aninom.
Guara ammo'd daspag.
Kagadi pangala ne chanum.

Inabdé kame, mansalching kitu.
Pabaanes-mo-ak ne atak.
Aknim-ak ne dukto.
Twai kurábis?
Guara balei a okipan?
Guarai abong bengat.
Manapui-ka sai mandutu.
Manumkal-ka ne sazei a manok.
Ikuan mo'n andao ale.
Kal'dyo amin.
Painom-mo e kabadyo.
Ipastol-mo e kabadyo.
Atngim-mo sun sikáto.

Have you forgotten nothing?
We shall make the river our resting
place.

What is this called?
This we call . . .
Just take hold of this.
Wait a moment.
Put your load down.
Open this (by lifting the lid).
Untie this.
Bundle it up again.
Where is my provender?
It seems to have fallen down on the
road.

He has got it.
The others are not yet here.
Our companions are a long way off.
Is it still far?
It is not very far.
Is there no water? I want to drink.
There seems to be some below.
Be so kind as to have some water
brought.

We are tired; let us rest.
Lend me your knife.¹
Give me a sweet potato.
Where are the matches?
Is there a house to sleep in?
There is only a hut.
Light a fire for cooking.
Buy a chicken.
Tell him to come here.
Come here all of you.
Water the horse.
Put the horse in the pasture.
Help him.

WRITING AND POPULAR SONGS

It is doubtful if the Ibaloi Igorot ever had a system of writing. No trace of any is nowadays to be found among them. There are handed down to us the characters of the neighboring Ilocano and Pangasinan which these tribes, like others of the lowlands, abandoned, together with their customs and religious beliefs, after the arrival of the Spaniards, whose culture they have ever since striven to adopt in a progressive spirit. The Igorot tribes are, however, distinct from the former inasmuch as they are older arrivals on Philippine soil and have

¹ The knife, after being used, would be handed back silently, no equivalent for "thank you" being in use. On rare occasions *sigid*, *agik*—"well done, my brother"—or a like expression is heard.

retained their national or tribal peculiarities. They either did not bring the art of writing with them or they forgot it—perhaps with other manifestations of a former higher culture—because of the physical hardships they had to undergo when pushed by subsequent Malayan invaders into the inhospitable mountain fastnesses of the interior.

For what it may be worth I reproduce here as accurately as possible the sample of ancient writing given by Sinibaldo de Mas in his *Informe Sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* (Madrid, 1843).



FIG. 1.—An unidentified inscription engraved on a board and found in the mountains inhabited by Igorot people in 1837 by a military expedition. (Same size as given by Sinibaldo de Mas; size of original is not known.)

On this he observes: "To this class of alphabets (Ilokano, Batangas, Pampanga, Bulacan, and Tondo) seems to belong the inscription (see fig. 1) engraved on a board that was found in 1837 by a military expedition in the mountains inhabited by the savages called Igorrotes." While unable to improve on this dubious discovery, I am glad to be able to give two bits of Igorot singing and thereby to contribute a trifle to the preservation of genuine Filipino music.

The Ibaloi is, in a way, rather fond of singing. Wandering through his silent woods he will unburden his heart by singing some low, melodious strain, the plaintive sound of which reveals the melancholy underlying the Malayan character. Again, at some festival, sitting with others around the fire, he will, in less harmonious tones and between frequent sips of rice wine, chant incidents of his family life to his assembled relatives and friends, who at intervals chime in in chorus until another, being alluded to, takes up the song in like manner. Many a time, as a guest on such occasions, have I laid myself down to sleep on some deerskin only to find the next morning the same party still droning out their confidential communications, though rather the worse for a night during which the cocoanut shell with rice wine had been kept constantly going around.

With this habit it is not to be wondered at that particularly stirring incidents of Igorot life should become the common property of young and old and, clad in more harmonious form, survive as popular ballads. The best known of these is one in which a young girl relates the cruel treatment suffered at the hands of her stepmother; her furtive flight to Kaiapa, a district adjoining Benguet, where she becomes the wife of a Spanish officer; her subsequent good fortune, and refusal ever to return to her home.



Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXX. IBALOI WOMEN RICE CARRIERS RESTING ON THE TRAIL.

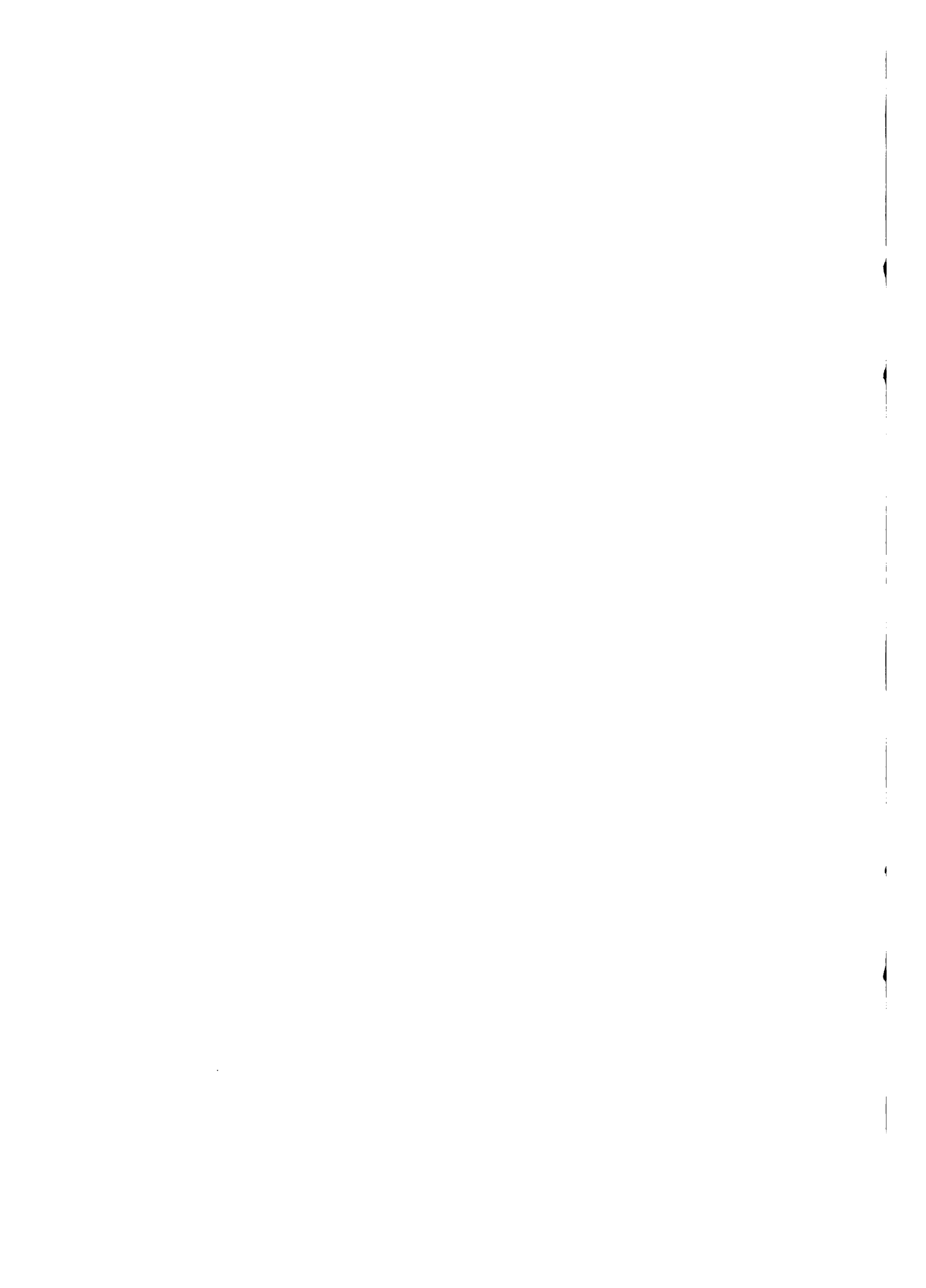




Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXXI. IBALOI BASKET WORK.

(1. *ba-tti*, for containing locusts; 2. *u-ti-kan*, for carrying food to work; 3. *sa-tu-ahan*, house basket for camotes; 4. *pa-teng*, Ibaloi "pocket," carried suspended from shoulder.)

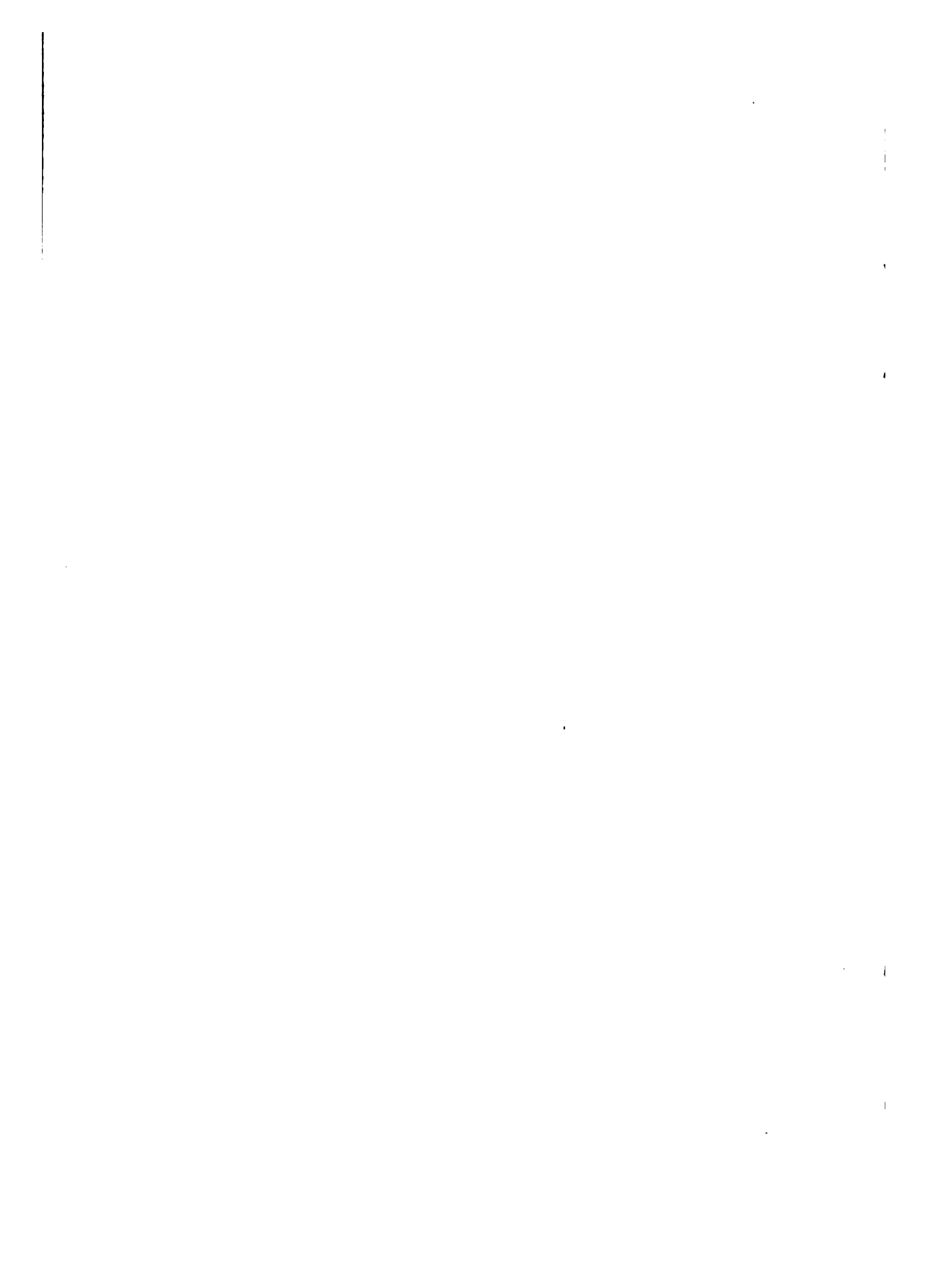




Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXXII. IBALOI BASKETS.

(1, *pa-ti-tang*, general receptacle, carried on back, slung over shoulders; 2, *sa-kob*, for boiled camotes; *tad-tad*, for storing rice or beans.)



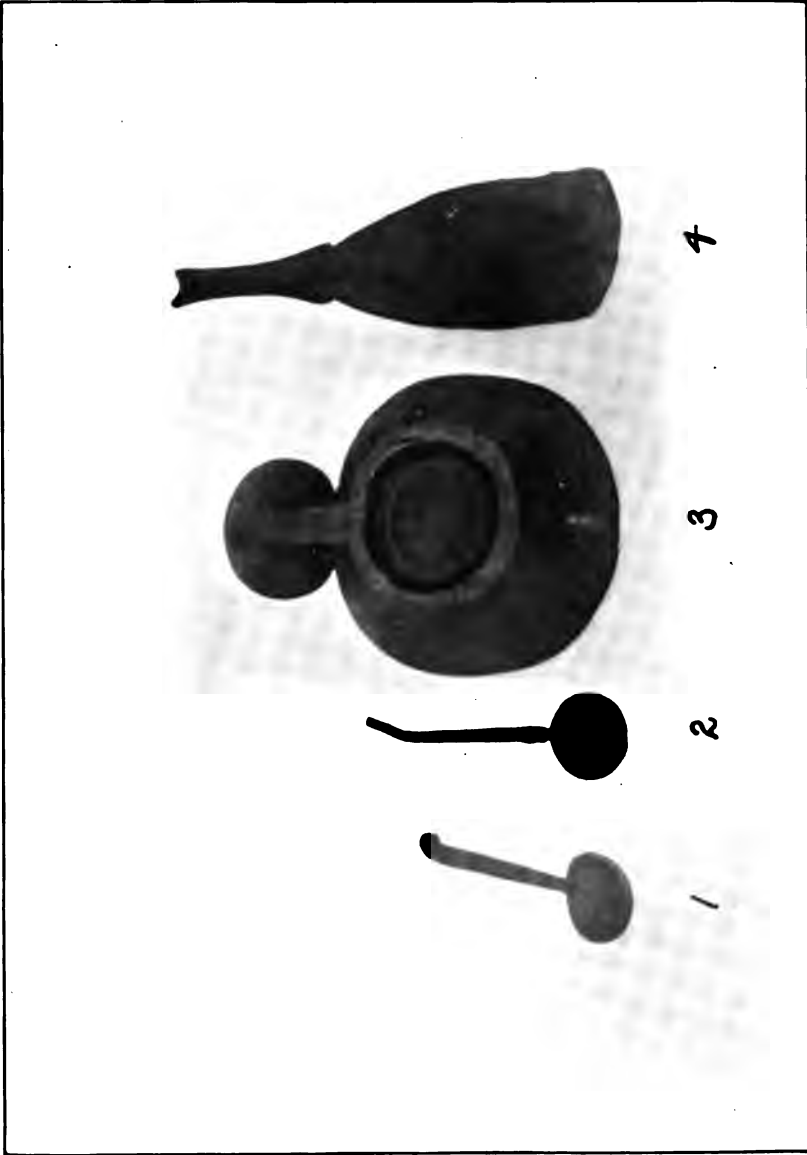


Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXXIII. IBALOI WOODEN HOUSE UTENSILS.

(1 and 2, *sak-dung*, cooking spoons; 3, *chu-yo*, double food bowl, bottom view; 4, *sud-sud*, ladle for stirring rice wine.)



Photo by Worcester.

PLATE LXXXIV. IBALOI IMPLEMENTS, ETC.

(1, *pd-kong*, bamboo vibrating musical instrument, played by woman by being struck on base of palm; 2, *sang-kap*, iron blade of implement for digging canotes; 3, *a-tok*, knife sheath; 4, *a-tok*, man's large knife; 5, *bu-xi-a-ti*, girdle of carved shells, rare and expensive, usually worn as pendant from belt; 6, *cham-pak*, man's working ax; 7, *gua-sci*, man's working ax, same implement as 6, blade being interchangeable; 8, *ka-du-dong*, man's rattan hat.)

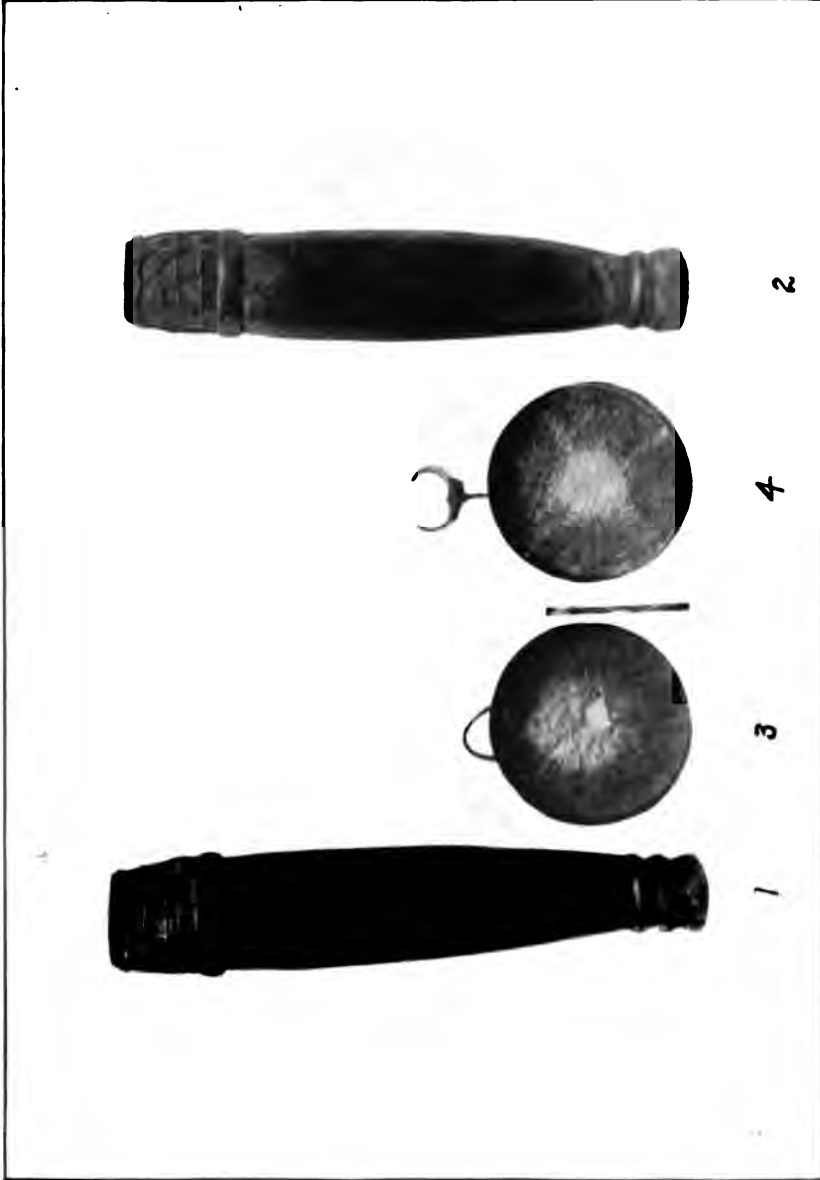
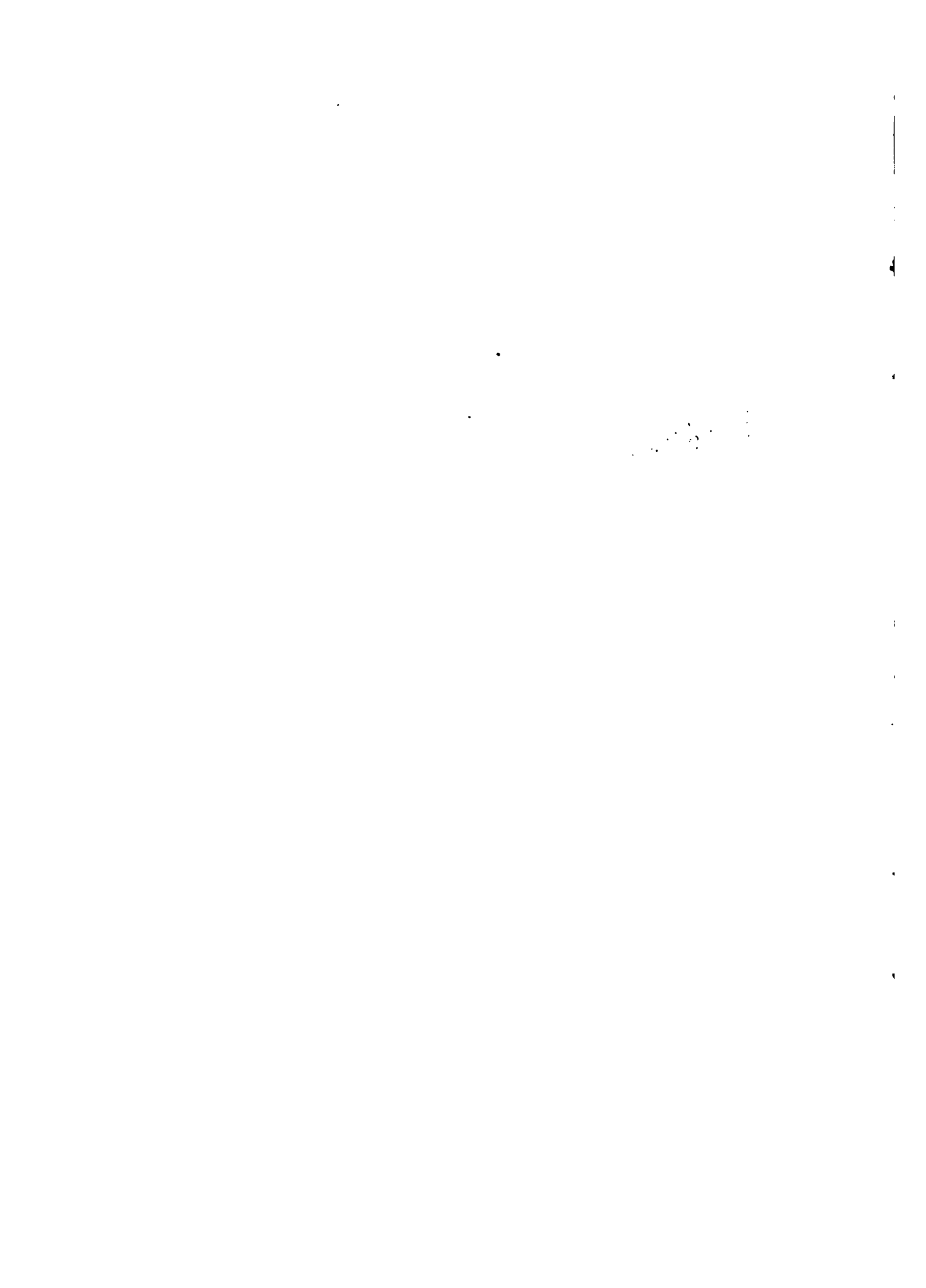


Photo by Worcester.
PLATE LXXXV. IBALOI MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.
(1 and 2, *antibao* and *himbol*, hollow wooden drums with skin head over large end; 3 and 4, *kalea* and *pinack*, bronze gongs.)



The beginning of the song is the following, the tune and the peculiar repetition of each new phrase remaining the same all through to the end:

Violin moderato



FIG. 2.—First line of a popular Ibaloi song.

Andao-ak chi Kaiapa, andao-ak chi Kaiapa
I go to Kaiapa, to Kaiapa I go



FIG. 3.—Second line of a popular Ibaloi song. (Same song as in fig. 2.)

Paseng-ko chi Santa Rosa, paseng-ko chi Santa Rosa
I take the road to Santa Rosa, to Santa Rosa the road I take

The following is a fragment of another ballad sung to the same ever rising and falling melody and with the same repetition of each line:

Ka-linas Ka-gang Bulan!
Thou brighten, I pray thee, Oh, moon!

Manalung ak nem kabuasan
Shall go down hill I when to-morrow

Nak manumkal ne pungan Ipungan nan asagoak
I shall be buyer of a pillow to serve as pillow of my wife

Ananak nem buasto
(Who) is to bear child when the day after to-morrow

Inaspol ko 's kapitan Anakbat ne kampilan
Have met I the headman shouldering the kampilan (saber)

Imbagan to twai duguan ko
Asked he where place of going mine

Inkuan ko, manalung ak chi Idoko
Said I, shall go down I to Ilokos

Kompolin to konó e toktok ko
Shall cut off he, said he, the head mine (etc.)

Another melody I have heard sung, once to a frivolous text and again with an extremely mournful cadence, as a sort of funeral hymn in which the friends of the deceased are invited to strike in his honor

the instruments¹ that serve the Igorot for beating time to their dances. I give the few notes² of which it consists with the latter text:

Sulibao, sulibao dyo!

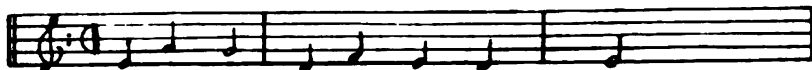


FIG. 4.—First line of an Ibaloi melody.

Kimbal, kimbal dyo!

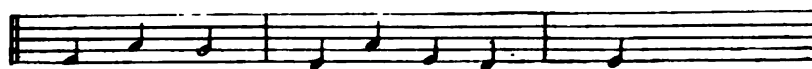


FIG. 5.—Second line of an Ibaloi melody. (Same melody as in fig. 4.)

Kalsa, kalsa dyo! (etc.)

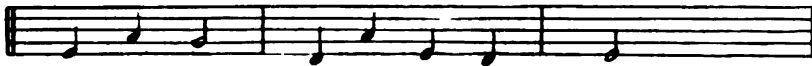


FIG. 6.—Third line of an Ibaloi melody. (Same melody as in figs. 4 and 5.)

The following is a rhyme for children, more recited than sung, a series of single words strung together, so to say, by the repetition before a following word of a part or the whole of the preceding one and by a methodical change of the accent which produces the rhythm. The words, mostly uncommon ones, I could not completely translate or get translated; the sense seems to be rather incoherent:

Bagbagtó	Bagbagtólambik	Tanabú	Tanabúgaai
Tolambíq	Tolambáwixan	Bugaái	Bugaálagpai
Bawixán	Bawikálanai	Alagpái	Alagpaipáiyau
Kalanái	Kalanainápunai	Paiyaáu	Paiyaaúatimbau
Napunái	Napunaidagta	Atimbáu	Atimbaubáiangau
Diagtá	Diagtánabu	[Etc.]	[Etc.]

¹ The chief ones are the *sulibao* and the *kimbal*, two cannon-shaped wooden drums of about equal size but beaten differently, each by one man; the first, a little sharper in tone, receives with the inner side of the outstretched united four fingers of both hands a continuous, quick succession of double slaps, both slaps being short but sounding ones, to be represented approximately thus: Right-left, right-left, right-left, right-left. The *kimbal* is struck in the same manner but with the difference that only the right-hand slap, simultaneous with the right-hand slap of the *sulibao* player, resounds, while the left-hand stroke is applied so as to cut short at once and stifle the vibrations. The bass accompaniment furnished by the *kimbal* to the *sulibao* has therefore the following monotonous sound: Right', right', right', right'.

The hollow "túb-tub, túb-tub" produced by both deep-mouthed instruments can be heard for a distance of 8, 10, or more miles along the valley. Together with them are played two gongs, one called *kalsa*, the other *pínsak*. They closely resemble brass pans, and are held up with the left hand and struck with a wooden peg in the right. Their "tinkle-tinkle" is rather discordant with the heavy sound of the drums. The clacking of two iron batons, called *palás*, struck one against the other, completes the tattoo.

² For this as for the preceding bit of music I am indebted to Mr. C. Carballo, graduate of the Nautical School, Manila, who took it down after my singing.

NABALOI VOCABULARY¹

[Arranged by subjects, etc.]

Persons

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Man	dá-xi	Twins	si-ping; a-nu-nú-a
Woman	bi-l; a-ko'-dau (P., akulao)	Married man or woman	in-a-sá-goa
Person	to-o	Widower or widow	bá-lo
Old man	a-si-xen	Bachelor (old) or maid (old)	ba-lá-sang; an-chi-a- sá-goa ²
Old woman	a-bá-kol	The old people	su-ta a-teng
Young man	ba-lo da-xi	The young people	su-ta ba-lá-sang
Young woman	ma-ri-xit	A great talker	sa-xei a ma-nút-nut
Virgin	ma-ri-xit; ba-lá-sang	A silent person	sa-xei a ka-ka-a-ká- kad
Boy or girl	a-á-nak	Thief	na-xi-bót
Infant	ngák-nga	Hermaphrodite	bi-na-ba-e
Male infant	ngák-nga da-xi		
Female infant	ngák-nga bi-l		

¹ In this vocabulary syllables have been separated by hyphens for the sake of clearness in spelling; the nasal *ng* in the middle of a word must be pronounced as connecting two syllables.
² *Si-sen* is "old man" in all barrios of Itogon, Benguet; in Itogon proper and vicinity, *chi-pú*.

Parts of the human body

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Head	tok-tok	Chin	ti-mid
Hair	bu-og	Neck	buk-dou ¹
Crown of the head	a-di-tú-kan	Adam's apple	ta-din-nan
Scalp	ba-dat ni tok-tok	Golter	bis-kei
Face	dít-pa	Body	áng-og
Forehead	ta-mók	Shoulder	a-wa-da
Eye, pupil of the eye	ma-ta	Shoulder blade	ta-xeb
Eyelash	pas-pas	Back	bun-neg
Eyebrow	ka-chel	Breast of a man or of a woman (mamma)	su-su
Upper eyelid or lower eyelid	pa-lo-mai-at	Nipples	dup-dít-p-an
Ear lobe	ta-bing-an	Hip	li-pat
Ear	tang-i-da	Belly	a-kis
Perforation in ear	nad-beng	Navel	pu-og
External opening of the ear	ku-ít-ding	Arm	tak-dai
Nose and ridge of nose	a-deng	Right ² arm	tak-dai-au-a-nán
Nostril	du-u-ngi-san	Left arm	tak-dai i-gid
Cheek	tam-íl	Armpits	dyaí-yog
Beard	i-ming	Elbow	si-xo
Mouth	bung-ot	Right elbow	si-xo au-a-nán
Upper lip, lower lip	su-bil	Left elbow	si-xo i-gid
Tooth	sang-i	Wrist	yag-yang-ó-an
Tongue	chi-la	Right wrist	yag-yang-ó-an au-a- nán
Saliva	tup-cha	Left wrist	yag-yang-ó-an i-gid
Palate	ka-lang-á-han	Hand	díma
Throat	ta-dín-nan	Right hand	dí-ma au-a-nán

¹ *Bek-leo*.

² See under "The noun," right, left, both.

Parts of the human body—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Left hand	di-ma i-gid	Heel	ku-mot
Palm of hand	cha-lú-kap	Toe	ka-lu-mot
Back of hand	bun-nog ni chalukap	Large toe	pa-nga-ngá-an ni sa-di
Fingers	ka-lu-mot	Fifth or small toe	ki-ging ni sa-di
Thumb	pa-nga-ngá-an	Toe nail	ko-xo ni sa-di
First finger	pa-tu-rú-an	Blood	chá-la
Second finger	pa-kau-á-an	Vein or artery	u-lat
Small finger	ki-ging	Brain	u-tek
Finger nail	ko-xo	Bladder	bi-rung
Knuckle	bu-xo ni ka-lu-mot	Gall	áp-ko
Space between knuckles	sa-sa ni ka-lu-mot	Heart	pú-so
Rump	u-bed	Kidney	ba-tin
Leg	sa-di	Liver	al-tei
Thigh	di-po	Stomach	bi-tu-ka
Knee	pu-eg	Rib	tag-dang
Kneecap	ka-til-ká-ull	Vertebra, spine	pa-lik
Leg below knee, calf of the leg	da-da-long	Footprint	ká-tin
Ankle, ankle bone	tik-ding	Skin	ba-dát
Foot	cha-pan	Bone	pú-xil
		Intestines	su-sút

Clothing and ornaments

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Turban	pan-diet	Belt	ba-li-kes
Hat	ka-dú-bong	Jacket for women	sa-dei
Cap	ok-dop	Petticoat (short)	di-wit
Waterproof	{ka-la-pláu; bang-áú ¹ téch-ong ²	Necklace	un-no
Breechcloth	kó-bal	Earring, finger ring	ta-wing
Cloak	ka-táp; ú-les	Arm ring	ka-ring
Jacket, shirt	bá-ro	Knee ring (leg band between knee and calf)	ba-nei
Pantaloon, short pants	kal-son (Sp.)	Tattooing	ba-tok

¹Grass or palm-leaf cover for men.²Wickerwork cover for women.*The house and field*

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Village	bá-lei ¹	Bed	chu-kú-lan
Dwelling (permanent)	bá-lei; a-bing (small hut)	Pillow	pú-ngan
Doorway	u-sok-an; di-teb	Floor	cha-á-tal
Fire	a-pui	Ceiling	tá-lib
Firewood	ki-u	Wall	chin-ching
Blaze	a-pui	Post	tad-mceg
A light	si-lau	Joist	chi-sal
Living coals	nga-lab	Opening for window	ta-wa
Dead coals	u-ling	Stairway	ag-chan
		Ladder	tei-tei

¹It seems as if the Igorot, from their custom of living dispersedly, lack a proper word for "village." They know, of course the Ilocano word for pueblo, "ili," but use it mostly in reference to Christian settlements.

The house and field—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Ashes	de-pok	A stone	ba-to
Smoke	a-sok	Road	cha-lan
Soot	da-gid	Field adjoining the house	bá-ang
A seat	tung-ai-an	Irrigating canal	ko-ló-kol
Chair	pa-lang-ka (Ilokano)	Spring	i-nu-man; a-su-lan
A post	to-xod	Water	cha-num
My home	bá-lei-ko	Roof	bu-bu-ngan
Torch (resinous pine wood)	(sa-leng)	Granary	a-lang
Mat	i-xá-men	Shanty	a-bong

Weapons, implements, and utensils

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Bow of wood	be-kang ni pa-na ¹	Buyo	kal-kal-en ²
Bowstring	gua-nit ni pa-na	Knife (bolo)	a-tak
Arrow	pa-na	Sheath	a-tip
Notch in end of arrow for bowstring	sed-da	Gun	pai-tok
Arrow shaft of wood	pa-na ki-u	Fork	te-ne-rol (Sp., tenedor)
Arrow shaft of reed	pa-na bido	Tablespoon (wooden)	i-rus
War club	pá-pa	Knife: Small open knife	ta-ad
War spear	ka-yang	Penknife	dan-si-ta (Sp., lanzeta)
Fish spear	ta-ra-pang	Plate (imported iron or earthen ware plate)	plng-kan
Shield	ka-la-sai	Cup (tabo, a bowl made of one-half of a cocoanut)	ung-ot
Fish line	i-xit	Olla	bang-a
Fishhook	bing-ngult	Copper kettle	kam-bang
Net for catching fish	bal-cho	Waterpot	sa-lao
Pipe (of any material)	kua-ko	Sieve	a-xi-ak
Pipestem (of reed or of wood)	bu-qing	Plow	a-ra-cho (Sp., arado)
Fish basket	bug-lut	Harrow	sa-lui-sui
Tobacco	ta-ba-ko	Sickle	chá-kem
Cigar	pá-ris		
Cigarette	sa-ka-ril-dyó (Corr. Sp.)		
Betel nut	bú-a		

¹The bow is not in use now in this tribe. The word "quiver" might be rendered *balei-to ni pana* (house of the arrow).

²Not used by the Ibaloi. Buyo is a piece of betel nut (the fruit of *Areca catechu*) wrapped in a folded leaf of "piper betel" (T. ikmó), the latter having first been coated with lime made from oyster shells. The little disk so formed, called "ichó" in Tagalog, is chewed by the natives all over the Islands.

WOODEN WARE

Mortar ¹	du-son	A hollow calabash to bring water in	kti-be
Pestle ¹	ba-yo	A wooden food tray ²	chú-yo
A bamboo to bring water in	daó-as		

¹For threshing and hulling rice.

²Carved out of one piece, comprising one or two bowls for boiled rice and meat, with salt-cellar, etc.

Weapons, implements, and utensils—Continued

IRON TOOLS

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Axe	gua-sai	Knife point	ngo-ro
Adze	cham-pak	Knife edge	tá-rem
Hoe	kab-yún	Borer	ko-ló-kol
Knife	tá-ad	Hammer of stone or iron	pá-pa
Knife handle	sa-lung		

Miscellaneous articles

English	Nabaloi
Horn ladle	i-rus dya sak-dud
Flute	tu-la-di
Drum	su-li-bao; kim-bal
Gong or metal plates	kal-sa; piq-sak
Split cane, humming when beaten against wrist (not used during rainy season)	pá-kong (I., bu-kang-kang)
Small tin or brass plate with tongue cut in center; held before mouth and struck with thumb (the jew's-harp)	kó-ding

BASKET WARE

Basket for sweet potatoes, carried on back and supported by band passing over the head	ka-yá-bang
Rude skeleton basket for exporting Iriah potatoes	sa-li-an (pronounced "salyan")
Large bowl-shaped basket of fine workmanship to keep rice or coffee beans	tad-tad
Small but strong wicker basket worn hung from the shoulder; the "pocket" of the half-naked Igorot	pál-teng
Square or oval traveling basket, sort of "tampipi," but the two halves hinged together on one side as a portmanteau; high-class workmanship	u-fi-kan
General carrying rack for men	chá-gi

IMPLEMENTS FOR SEWING, WEAVING, SPINNING, ETC.

Thread	sal-ot
To sew	ma-ná-it
To embroider	man-pad-dá
To cut	kom-pól
Needle	cha-kom
Scissors	ká-di
Buttons	bu-ti-nis (Sp., botones)
Cotton cloth, white with blue or red border stripes ¹	ko-lu-bao
Cotton cloth, multicolored, striped stuff; black, blue, red, yellow stripes ¹	bá-ked
Cotton cloth, chequered design, black and red or black and white squares ¹	kam-bal-yá-cho

¹ Ilocano cotton stuffs most in use among Igorot.

Food

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Food	ma-kan	Coffee	ká-pe (Sp.)
Meat	Uncooked	a-á-pag	f-tsa
	Cooked	ma-sí-dan ¹	ma-rang-kas (Sp., naranjas)
Soup (broth)	chi-gu	Lemons	lí-ban
Bread	ti-na-pai ²	Papaia ⁴	pa-pá-dia
Corn (green)	tí-ge	Salt	a-sín
Milk	ká-tas	Sugar (molasses)	díng-ket
Honey	díng-ket ní po-dio-kan	Sugar (other kinds)	ma-sam-it
Juice	chá-num (water)	Vinegar	su-ka
Sweet potatoes	dúk-to ³	Lard	da-neb
Bolled rice	f-na-pul	Eggs	ex-duk
Roast meat	kín-dut	Jerked beef	ta-pa
Fried meat	i-sang-deu	Banana	bá-lad
Fish	i-kan	Cocconut	ní-og
Beef	a-á-pag ne ba-ka	Chocolate	cacao (Sp.)
Pork	a-á-pag ne ké-chil	Mango	mang-ka
Potatoes	pá-pas		
Onions	da-só-na		

¹ *Masidan* is generally anything eaten along with rice or camotes.

² Bought from the Christians.

³ Sanskrit, Ruktaloo.

⁴ The fruit of *Carica papaya*.

Colors¹

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Scarlet	am-bá-lang-a	Black	} an-tó-leng
Vermillion		Blue	
Red		White	} am-pu-tí
Brown		Grey and sorrel	
Purple		Green	vil-che (Corr. Sp.) ²
Roan		Yellow	chu-yao ³

¹ As will be seen, there is a remarkable deficiency in distinction of colors among the Igorot, there appearing to be only three terms—*ambalang* (red), *antóleng* (black), and *amputi* (white). The other colors are rather forcibly brought under one of these three main colors, according to their shade and to the individual opinion of the spectator.

² Vivid green (light, fresh green of grass or leaves) is called *ma-d-ta*, but this word covers really only the meaning of "vivid."

³ Igorot pronunciation of the Ilocano word "du-yao."

Numbers

CARDINAL

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
One	sa-xéi	Eight	gualo
Two	chúa	Nine	dsí-am
Three	tád-do	Ten	sam-pu-lo ¹
Four	áp-pat	Eleven	sa-wal ne sa-xéi
Five	dí-ma	Twelve	sa-wal ne chua
Six	an-nim	Thirteen	sa-wal ne táddo
Seven	pít-to	Fourteen	sa-wal ne áppat

¹ n before b, p, or m generally becomes m.

Numbers—Continued

CARDINAL—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Fifteen	sa-wal ne dima	One hundred three	san da-sus tan taddo
Sixteen	sa-wal ne annim	One hundred four	san da-sus tan appat
Seventeen	sa-wal ne pitto	One hundred five	san da-sus tan dima
Eighteen	sa-wal ne gualo	One hundred six	san da-sus tan annim
Nineteen	sa-wal ne dsiam	One hundred seven	san da-sus tan pitto
Twenty	chúa-púlo	One hundred eight	san da-sus tan gualo
Twenty-one	chúa-púlo saxel (or kad-do ne saxel)	One hundred nine	san da-sus tan dsiam
Twenty-two	chúa-púlo chua	One hundred ten	san da-sus tan sam- pulo
Twenty-three	chúa-púlo taddo	One hundred eleven	san da-sus tan sam- pulo tan saxel
Twenty-four	chúa-púlo appat	One hundred twelve	san da-sus tan sam- pulo tan chua
Twenty-five	chúa-púlo dima	Two hundred	chua dasus
Twenty-six	chúa-púlo annim	Three hundred	taddo dasus
Twenty-seven	chúa-púlo pitto	Four hundred	appat dasus
Twenty-eight	chúa-púlo gualo	Five hundred	dima dasus
Twenty-nine	chúa-púlo dsiam	Six hundred	annim dasus
Thirty	taddo-pulo	Seven hundred	pitto dasus
Thirty-one	taddo-pulo saxel (or ka-ap-pat ne saxel)	Eight hundred	gualo dasus
Forty	appat-pulo	Nine hundred	dsiam dasus
Fifty	dima-pulo	One thousand	san díbo
Sixty	annim-pulo	One-half (in length)	} ka-gu-chua
Seventy	pitto-pulo	One-half (in quantity)	
Eighty	gualo-pulo	All	a-mín
Ninety	dsiam-pulo	Some	á-chum
One hundred	san da-sus	None	an-chí
One hundred one	san da-sus tan saxel		
One hundred two	san da-sus tan chua		

ORDINAL

First	ma-pang-du	Eighteenth	mai sawal ni gualo
Second	mai-kad-gua	Nineteenth	mai sawal ni dsiam
Third	mai-kaddo	Twentieth	mai chua pulo
Fourth	mai kapat	Thirtieth	mai taddo pulo
Fifth	mai kadima	Fortieth	mai appat pulo
Sixth	mai kadannim	Fiftieth	mai dima pulo
Seventh	mai kapitto	Sixtieth	mai annim pulo
Eighth	mai kagualo	Seventieth	mai pitto pulo
Ninth	mai kadsiam	Eightieth	mai gualo pulo
Tenth	mai kasampulo	Ninetieth	mai dsiam pulo
Eleventh	mai sawal ni saxel	One hundredth	mai san dasus
Twelfth	mai sawal ni chua	Two hundredth	mai chuan dasus
Thirteenth	mai sawal ni taddo	Four hundredth	mai appat dasus
Fourteenth	mai sawal ni appat	Five hundredth	mai dima dasus
Fifteenth	mai sawal ni dima	Seven hundredth	mai pitto dasus
Sixteenth	mai sawal ni annim	Thousandth	mai san díbo
Seventeenth	mai sawal ni pitto	Last	man-ú-nud

Numbers—Continued

NUMERAL ADVERBS DENOTING REPETITION OF ACTION

English.	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Once	pinsak	Fourteen times	pin-sawal appat
Twice	pinchua	Fifteen times	pin-sawal dima
Thrice	pinaddo	Sixteen times	pin-sawal annim
Four times	pinappat	Seventeen times	pin-sawal pitto
Five times	pindima	Eighteen times	pin-sawal gualo
Six times	pinannim	Nineteen times	pin-sawal dsiam
Seven times	pinpitto	Twenty times	pin chua pulo
Eight times	pingualo	Thirty times	pin taddo pulo
Nine times	pindsiam	Forty times	pin appat pulo
Ten times	pinpulo	Fifty times	pin dima pulo
Eleven times	pin-sawal saxel	One hundred times	pin dasus
Twelve times	pin-sawal chua	Five hundred times	pin dima dasus
Thirteen times	pin-sawal taddo	One thousand times	pin dibo

MULTIPLICATIVES

Two-fold	to-pe	Thirteen-fold	sawal taddo tope
Three-fold	taddo tope	Fourteen-fold	sawal appat tope
Four-fold	appat tope	Fifteen-fold	sawal dima tope
Five-fold	dima tope	Sixteen-fold	sawal annim tope
Six-fold	annim tope	Seventeen-fold	sawal pitto tope
Seven-fold	pitto tope	Eighteen-fold	sawal gualo tope
Eight-fold	gualo tope	Nineteen-fold	sawal dsiam tope
Nine-fold	dsiam tope	Twenty-fold	chua pulo tope
Ten-fold	sam pulo tope	Thirty-fold	taddo pulo tope
Eleven-fold	sawal saxel tope	Forty-fold	appat pulo tope
Twelve-fold	sawal chua tope	Fifty-fold	dima pulo tope

DISTRIBUTIVES

One to each	san-sis-kei saxel	Fourteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan appat
Two to each	san-sis-kei chua	Fifteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan dima
Three to each	san-sis-kei taddo	Sixteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan annim
Four to each	san-sis-kei appat	Seventeen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan pitto
Five to each	san-sis-kei dima	Eighteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan gualo
Six to each	san-sis-kei annim	Nineteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan dsiam
Seven to each	san-sis-kei pitto	Twenty to each	san-sis-kei chua pulo
Eight to each	san-sis-kei gualo	Thirty to each	san-sis-kei taddo pulo
Nine to each	san-sis-kei dsiam	Forty to each	san-sis-kei appat pulo
Ten to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo	Fifty to each	san-sis-kei dima pulo
Eleven to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan saxel		
Twelve to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan chua		
Thirteen to each	san-sis-kei sam-pulo tan taddo		

Measures

English	Nabaloi
Dry measures for rice, coffee, etc.:	
Small, round, open basket, depth and diameter of which are held to correspond with measures taken from length of a finger and from span between outstretched thumb and first finger, respectively	ta-páng-an
Two sizes: (1) Contents selling at 1 real = 12½ cents, Mexican; (2) contents selling at 2 reales = 25 cents, Mexican	
Also the "caban" introduced by Spaniards and commonly represented by four times the contents of the rectangular five-gallon oil can	
Long measures:	
To measure	mal-dó-xod
Length of first finger	do-xod
Span between tips of outstretched thumb and middle finger	ká-guan
From middle of breast to tip of middle finger of outstretched arm	vara (Sp.); or, ka-gu-chua
Full spread of both arms from tip of one middle finger to the other	chi-pa
Land measures:	
(1) For rice fields, the number is stated of bundles of paddy yielded by the fields	appat pulo katanai ¹
(2) For pasture land, the number of cattle is stated that find sufficient pasture on the area in question	kus-to ni bung-dé ²
Weight measures for gold dust (a pair of scales)	
Weight of Mexican dollar or old Spanish "Carlos" dollar	ta-lá-dyo
Weight of Spanish 50-cent piece	tim-bang pi-sus
Weight of Spanish 2-real piece	tim-bang sílapi
Weight of Spanish 1-real piece or of bronze piece coined by the Igorot	tim-bang bí-ka-pat

¹ = Forty bundles of paddy.² = Sufficient for 50 head of cattle.*Division of time*

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
A year	taó-en	Night	kal-bian, a-dá-wi
A moon	bú-lan	Sunrise	na-a-kou
One-quarter waxing moon	i-xai ba-lal-to	Morning	ka-bu-bú-san
Two-quarters waxing moon	tad-do ba-lal-to	Midforenoon	si-ma-kit i-si-kid
Three-quarters waxing moon	mang-ka buk-nal	Noon	ka-a-kau-an
Full moon	mal-ping-ll; or, a-buk-nol	Afternoon	i-nás-gil
Three-quarters waning moon	a-pig-ni-san	Sunset	i-nai-si-pi-sib
Two-quarters waning moon	mang-ka-ko-ó-tik	Dusk	a-dá-wi
One-quarter waning moon	a-ko-ó-tik	Evening	i-ma-chem
Moon showing rim of light	ned-ned; or, de-ned	Midnight	i-nan-kau-a e da-wi
Day	a-kou	Day before yesterday	ka-chi-man saxei
A day (24 hours)	saxei a-kou tan saxei a-da-wi ¹	Yesterday	ni-man
		To-day	ni-man
		To-morrow	ka-bua-san
		Day after to-morrow	bu-as-to
		Now (adverb)	ni-man
		Past time (adverb)	nun-tan
		Future time (adverb)	a-kai, a-sa-nem
		A second or instant ²	saxei ka-ri-nub-da-an
		Dawn	mang-kal-tel-guag

¹ One day and one night.² In the sense of a very short time. (Lit.: Time for a few whiffs of tobacco.)

Standards of value

English	Nabaloi
0.01½, Mexican (2 cuartos, Spanish)	san si-mon
0.02½, Mexican (4 cuartos, Spanish)	chua si-mon
0.03½, Mexican (6 cuartos, Spanish)	taddo si-mon
0.05, Mexican (8 cuartos, Spanish)	appat si-mon
0.06½, Mexican (medio real, Spanish)	si-ka-gúa-lo
0.12½, Mexican (1 real, Spanish)	si-ka-pát
0.25, Mexican (2 reales, Spanish)	bín-ting
0.20, Mexican (peseta)	a-lin-ta-rós ¹
0.37½, Mexican (3 reales)	taddo ba-gé
0.50, Mexican (4 reales)	sa-lá-pl
0.62½, Mexican (5 reales)	kad-gua síkapat
0.75, Mexican (6 reales)	kadgua bín-ting
0.87½, Mexican (7 reales)	kadgua taddo ba-gé
1.00, peso, Mexican (8 reales)	pi-sus ²

¹ Corrupted from "treinta y dos"—that is, 32 cuartos.

² Corrupted from "peso." In former times the Igorot understood by *pisus* 50 cents, Mexican, and even nowadays one hears occasionally the expression *pisus i rudut* (50 cents, Mexican) and *pisus cristiano* (1 peso, Mexican).

Animals

MAMMALS

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Bat	pa-ning-ke	Goat	kal-ching
Carabao	nú-ang	Kid	ki-lao ne kal-ching
Cat (wild)	mú-tít	Wild hog	a-ni-mu-lok
Dog	a-sí	Horse	ka-ba-dyo (Sp., caballo)
Deer	ma-xá-goas ¹	Pig	ke-chil
Mouse (stone)	bu-ed	Suckling pig	but-bu-tóg
Rat (common house)	o-tot	Young sow	da-wás
Monkey	ba-xes	Mother sow	ká-ang
Cow	ba-ka (Sp., vaca)	Boar	mul-mul
Bull	ka-da-ki-an ne ba-ka ²	Eagle	ptí-xao

¹ See under "Noun."

² Or *kal-ki-an ne ba-ka*.

PARTS OF THE BODY OF MAMMALS

Antlers	sak-dud	Muscle	úl-po
Anus	u-bed	Meat	a-á-pag
Bone	pu-xíl	Paw	ka-lu-mot
Brain	u-tæk	Penis	bu-to
Claw	ka-lu-mod	Rib	tag-dang
Dung	ta-e	Rump	u-bed
Fat	da-neb	Skull	pu-xíl ne tok-tok
Fur	bá-go	Stomach	bí-tú-ka
Hoof	ko-ko	Skin	ba-dát
Hide	ka-tát	Tail	i-gol
Horn	sak-dud	Tendon	u-lat
Hair	bu-rek	Teeth	sang-i
Heart	pu-so	Tongue	chi-la
Intestines	so-sot	Testicles	bu-tík
Joint	am-deng	Womb	ka-a-na-kan
Liver	al-tei		

Animals—Continued

BIRDS

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Bird	pa-yad	Crow	uák
Hen	u-bú-an	Hornbill	ka-lou
Cock	kao-i-tan	Heron and crane	bi-til
Jungle hen	ubdan ni man-ma-nok	Spine	kwat
Jungle cock	kaoitán ni man-ma-nok	Parrot	u-ling-eb
Wild duck	nga-la	Parroquet	u-lis
Hawk	pú-xao	Pigeon	ka-la-pá-ti; or, ka-lum-pá-te

PARTS OF THE BODY OF BIRDS

Feathers	bá-go	Head	tok-tok
Bill	ngu-áb	Neck	buk-dou
Mouth	bungot	Body	ang-ól
Gizzard	ka-lang-a-han	Back	bung-neg
Intestines	su-sít	Wing	pa-yad
Eye	ma-ta	Tail feathers	pól-chus
Ear	tang-i-da	Leg	ul-po
Nostril	a-deng	Foot	sa-di
eyelid	pa-lo-mai-at	Toe	kó-xo

FISH, ETC.

Fish	i-kan	Crab	ka-dang
Eel	ki-wod		

PARTS OF THE BODY, ETC., OF FISH

Mouth	bung-ot	Eye	ma-ta
Breast fin	} i-fai	Bladder	bi-rung
Belly fin		Gall	áb-ko
Back fin		Scales	sik-sik
Tail fin		To swim	mang-ai-kai

REPTILES, ETC.

Frog (small)	bak-bak-án	Snake (big)	i-reu
Lizard (big)	ti-lai	Snake (small)	u-icg
Lizard (small)	a-du-ti-id		

INSECTS

Ant, three kinds	{ a-bu-bu-kau ú-bo kab-kab	Flea	te-mil
Bedbug	ki-tep	Fly	a-pang-at
Bee	po-dí-kan	Grasshopper	bu-dá-deng
Beetle (tumblebug), two kinds	{ ki-is dog-dog	Locust	chu-ron
Butterfly	bul-búl-o	Louse	ku-to
Caterpillar	ku-báo-eng	Maggot	dí-mas
		Mosquito	i-mok
		Spider	a-kai-á-gua
		Wasp (yellow)	a-bi-ung-an

Plants

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Bud of tree	man-bub-ngis	Brush	dó-ot
Leaf	bu-long	A flower	bung-a
Limb	pang-a	Forest	ka-kiú-an
Outside bark	ta-pák	Fruit	da-moës
Body of trunk	bág-dang	Grass	a-det
Stump	tong-üt	Thicket	sab-nid
Root	da-mot	Ripe	addum
Tree	po-on	Unripe	á-neng (Lit.: "Not yet")
Wood	ki-u		

Geographic terms

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
North	a-miá-nan	River	pá-dok
East	chá-ya	Waterfall	mai-pai-as-pás
South	a-ba-gá-tan	Lake	ambánao chanum (broad water)
West	dá-ut; or, lá-ut	Sea	bai-bai
Mountain	chun-tuk	Country (of a nation or people)	bú-dai
Hill	pél-og	Town	} ili ¹
Plain	chá-k-dan	Village	
Spring	{ a-sí-lan { l-nu-man	Group of Igorot houses	ba-lei (houses)
Hot spring	a-sin (salt)		
Brook	sing-i		

¹ The Ilocano word "ili" is used, but mostly to designate Christian towns.

Geographic names¹

Names of towns of the Ibaloi Igorot	Sablan: A certain tree with brilliant red blossoms.
	Chakdan; or, daklan: A level place in the hills.
	Kapaway (old name of rancheria Bagulo): Open, grass-covered lands.
	Balangawan: A place where red soil shows at the surface.
	Thus also: Kaptangan: The warm land—that is, the warm foothills and plains west and south of Benguet.

¹ Names to designate certain places or localities, whether inhabited or not, are commonly taken from the most prominent or most noteworthy natural features of the same.

Meteorologic and other physical phenomena and objects

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Cloud or clouds	kul-pot; or, al-béng	Current	a-yus
Sky	dang-it	Eddy	dí-wun
Horizon	ki-lig ní dang-it	Overflow (big water)	abatek chanum
Sun { As cause of light As cause of warmth	á-kou ¹	Rain	tí-ran
	si-kit	Thunder	ke-rul
		Lightning	ba-gí-dat

¹ For comparative study bear in mind that the very darkly pronounced "ou" in *akou*, *páou* and similar words is the "ao" of the Ilocano.

Meteorologic and other physical phenomena and objects—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Moon	bú-lan	Wind	cha-gœm
Full moon	ping-il	Whirlwind	a-di-fut-fat
Planets and stars	tá-lao	Typhoon	pú-œk
Aurora	mam-bub-tak i si-kit	The ground	bú-dai
Rainbow	bung-dul	Dust	dep-pok
Fog	kul-pot	Mud	pi-toi
Frost	ang-chap	Sand	bi-sil
Hail	dan-te	Salt	a-sin
Water	chá-num	Rock, stone	ba-to
Image reflected by water	} a-di-rum	Earthquake	yek-yek
Shadow		Shower	nan a-te-xan e ú-ran
Foam	u-sab	Heavy rain	ma-chi-kis ú-ran
Wave	cha-du-yon	Morning star	Ma-mú-as

*Kinship*LINEAL DESCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING¹

English	Nabaloi
My son	a-nak-ko
My son's son	} a-po-ko nan pinsak
My son's daughter	
My son's son's son	} a-po nan kapinchua
My son's daughter's son	
My son's son's daughter	
My son's daughter's daughter	
My son's son's son's son	} a-po-ko nan kapintaddo
My son's son's son's daughter	
My son's son's daughter's son	
My son's son's daughter's daughter	
My daughter	anak-ko
My daughter's daughter	} a-po-ko nan pinsak
My daughter's son	
My daughter's son's son	} a-po-ko nan kapinchua
My daughter's son's daughter	
My daughter's daughter's son	
My daughter's daughter's daughter	
My daughter's daughter's son's son	} a-po-ko nan kapintaddo
My daughter's daughter's son's daughter	
My daughter's daughter's daughter's son	
My daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter	

LINEAL ASCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING¹

My father	a-mak
My father's father	ama nan amak
My father's mother	i-na nan amak
My father's father's father	} a-po-nan amak
My father's father's mother	
My father's mother's father	
My father's mother's mother	

¹ Lineal descendants of self, female speaking; lineal ascendants of self, female speaking; and first collateral line, female speaking, are same as male speaking.

Kinship—Continued

LINEAL ASCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING—Continued

English	Nabaloi
My father's father's father's father	ama nan ápo nan amak
My father's father's father's mother	ina nan ápo nan amak
My mother	i-nak
My mother's father	ama nan inak
My mother's mother	ina nan inak
My mother's father's father	} á-po nan inak
My mother's father's mother	
My mother's mother's father	} á-po nan inak
My mother's mother's mother	
My mother's mother's mother's father	ama nan ápo nan inak
My mother's mother's mother's mother	ina nan ápo nan inak

FIRST COLLATERAL LINE, MALE SPEAKING¹

My older brother	a-gik pang u-du-an
My older brother's son	} anak nan agik panguduan
My older brother's daughter	
My older brother's son's son	} á-po nan agik panguduan
My older brother's daughter's daughter	
My older brother's son's son's son	} á-po nan agik panguduan
My older brother's daughter's daughter's daughter	
My older sister	agik panguduan
My older sister's son	} anak nan agik panguduan
My older sister's daughter	
My older sister's son's son	} á-po nan agik panguduan
My older sister's daughter's daughter	
My older sister's daughter's daughter's daughter	} á-po nan agik panguduan
My younger brother	
My younger brother's son	agik urichian
My younger brother's daughter	} anak nan urichian-ko
My younger brother's son's son	
My younger brother's daughter's daughter	} á-po nan urichian-ko
My younger sister	
My younger sister's son	agik urichian
My younger sister's daughter	} anak nan urichian-ko
My younger sister's son's son	
My younger sister's daughter's daughter	} á-po nan urichian-ko

¹ See footnote on page 162.AFFINITIES THROUGH RELATIVES DESCENDANTS OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING¹

My son's wife	asagoa nan anak-ko
My son's son's wife	} asagoa nan apo-ko
My son's daughter's husband	
My daughter's husband	asagoa nan anak-ko
My daughter's son's wife	} asagoa nan apo-ko
My daughter's daughter's husband	

¹ Affinities through relatives descendants of self, female speaking, are same as male speaking.

Kinship—Continued

AFFINITIES THROUGH THE MARRIAGE OF SELF, MALE SPEAKING¹

English	Nabaloi
My wife	a-m-go-ak
My wife's father	ama nan asagoak; or, Inapok
My wife's father's father	} 4-po nan asagoak
My wife's father's mother	
My wife's father's brother	pang-a-má-an nan asagoak
My wife's father's brother's wife	asagoa nan pang-a-má-an nan asagoak
My wife's father's sister	pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak
My wife's father's sister's husband	asagoa nan pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak
My wife's mother	ina nau asagoak
My wife's mother's father	} 4-po nan asagoak
My wife's mother's mother	
My wife's mother's brother	pangamán nan asagoak
My wife's mother's brother's wife	asagoa nan pangamán nan asagoak
My wife's mother's sister	panginán nan asagoak
My wife's mother's sister's husband	asagoa nan panginán nan asagoak
My wife's elder brother	agi panguduan nan asagoa
My wife's elder brother's wife	asagoa nan panguduan nan asagoak
My wife's younger brother	agi urichian nan asagoak
My wife's younger brother's wife	asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak
My wife's brother's son	} anak nan agi nan asagoak
My wife's brother's daughter	
My wife's elder sister	panguduan nan asagoak
My wife's elder sister's husband	asagoa nan panguduan nan asagoak
My wife's younger sister	urichian nan asagoak
My wife's younger sister's husband	asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak
My wife's sister's son	} anak nan agi nan asagoak
My wife's sister's daughter	

¹ See footnote at bottom of page 163.

AFFINITIES THROUGH RELATIVES, FIRST COLLATERAL LINE

My elder brother's wife	asagoa nan panguduan-ko
My elder brother's wife's sister	agi nan asagoa nan panguduan-ko
My elder brother's son's wife	} asagoa nan anak nan panguduan-ko
My elder brother's daughter's husband	
My elder brother's son's son's wife	} asagoa nan apo nan panguduan-ko
My elder brother's daughter's daughter's husband	
My elder sister's husband	asagoa nan panguduan-ko
My elder sister's husband's sister	agi nan asagoa nan panguduan-ko
My elder sister's daughter's husband	} asagoa nan anak nan panguduan-ko
My elder sister's son's wife	
My elder sister's son's son's wife	} asagoa nan apo nan panguduan-ko
My elder sister's daughter's daughter's husband	
My younger brother's wife	asagoa nan urichian-ko
My younger brother's son's wife	} asagoa nan anak urichian-ko
My younger brother's daughter's husband	
My younger brother's son's son's wife	} asagoa nan apo nan urichian-ko
My younger brother's daughter's daughter's husband	
My younger sister's husband	asagoa nan urichian-ko
My younger sister's son's wife	} asagoa nan anak nan urichian-ko
My younger sister's daughter's husband	
My younger sister's son's son's wife	} asagoa nan apo nan urichian-ko
My younger sister's daughter's daughter's husband	

Kinship—Continued

AFFINITIES THROUGH THE MARRIAGE OF SELF, FEMALE SPEAKING

English	Nabaloi
My husband	asagoak
My husband's father	ama nan asagoak
My husband's father's father	} apo nan asagoak
My husband's father's mother	
My husband's father's brother	pang-a-má-an nan asagoak
My husband's father's brother's wife	asagoa nan pang-a-má-an nan asagoak
My husband's father's sister	pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak
My husband's father's sister's husband	asagoa nan pang-i-ná-an nan asagoak
My husband's mother	ina nan asagoak
My husband's mother's father	} a-po nan asagoak
My husband's mother's mother	
My husband's mother's brother	pang-a-má-an nan asagoak
My husband's mother's brother's wife	asagoa nan pangamán nan asagoak
My husband's mother's sister	pangináan nan asagoak
My husband's mother's sister's husband	asagoa nan pangináan nan asagoak
My husband's elder brother	panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's elder brother's wife	asagoa nan panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's younger brother	urichian nan asagoak
My husband's younger brother's wife	asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak
My husband's elder brother's son	} anak nan panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's elder brother's daughter	
My husband's elder sister	panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's elder sister's husband	asagao nang panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's younger sister	urichian nan asagoak
My husband's younger sister's husband	asagoa nan urichian nan asagoak
My husband's elder sister's son	} anak nan panguduan nan asagoak
My husband's elder sister's daughter	

Ordinal names of children

English	Nabaloi
The first-born child (male or female)	anak panguduan
The second-born child (male or female)	adi-to nan panguduan
The third-born child (male or female)	adi nan kapinchua
The fourth-born child (male or female)	adi nan kapintaddo
The fifth-born child (male or female)	adi nan kapinappat
The sixth-born child (male or female)	adi nan kapindima
The seventh-born child (male or female)	adi nan kapinannim

Various social terms

English	Nabaloi
Male orphan, father dead	} ang-t-so
Male orphan, mother dead	
Male orphan, father and mother dead	
Female orphan, father and mother dead	
Female orphan, father dead	
Female orphan, mother dead	

Various social terms—Continued

English	Nabaloi
Father whose children have all died	} inabedan; or, achagas amin } anak-to
Mother whose children have all died	
Stillborn male child	} a-neng kabuknól-to; or, } a-neng kada-gá to ¹
Stillborn female child	
Family	bu-nak
Head of family	ama tayo (our father)
Relatives	ka-ba-kian
Number of families recognizing one common headman	ba-lang-kai
A rich man	saxel a bák-nang
A poor man	saxel a a-bí-tek
An adopted child	si-u mán
The oldest men of the place	suta asixen na angka; or, suta asixen na bayag
A servant	saxel a úbng; or, óxob
The priestess, or old woman executing the superstitious formulas at festivals	man-bu-bú-nong
Persons possessing the "evil eye" ("den böwen Blick"), or witch	man-ma-lá-sik

¹These two terms mean "not yet formed" and "unfinished."

Festive slaughterings and drinking bouts

English	Nabaloi
On childbirth	man-ta-i-din
To cure sickness	a-gas; or, chí-lus
At funerals (with exposure of dead body)	dab-sak
At marriage	man-i-din
Of other social character	set-páng
	bat-bat
	ka-fe
	pe-chit
Of the poor or ordinary people controlled by a rich man	sap-nak
	ka-i-dían (i., kállian)
Gathering of neighbors to help gratuitously one of their number in some heavy labor with subsequent slaughtering of an animal ("log rolling")	mai-ka-mal

Government

English	Nabaloi
Councilman	man-to-tó-dak; or, man-tab-táb-al
Meeting of principal men of one valley to administer justice	ma-tong-tong
Friend (one of the tribe)	} ka-i-sing (i., gai-yem)
Friend (one of another tribe)	
Enemy (one of the tribe or two persons hating one another)	a-nú-gis
Enemy (one of another tribe)	ka-bú-sol
Slave (servant, such as the son of a debtor, etc.)	óxob

Government—Continued

English	Nabaloi
Follower	ká-et
War	bá-kal
A coward	ti-méng-dao; or, ti-má-xot
Battle	bá-kal
War whoop	tap-ngan
A brave man	ma-ta-kal a-lé
God (the Supreme Ruler, the white man's God)	chi-us
The supreme god of the Igorot	ka-bu-ní-an ¹
The ancients; venerable beings of the past	á-med
The future world	pí-lag ²
The specters of dead people	ma-king ³
	mal-kut (I., al-al-ia)
The peculiar solemn condition which an Igorot (or a whole family) believes himself to be in and which he is required to keep up, under penalty of punishment from the <i>ma-king</i> , at certain phases of his life (marriage, death of a parent, etc.)	pi-diu ⁴

¹This god seems to be recognized by the Igorot all over the northern part of Luzon. His most sublime manifestation in Benguet is the Sun. But there is no especial worship rendered him in Benguet or it is forgotten in the special attention required by the troublesome *ma-king*.

²Supposed to be situated somewhere far away to the east.

³If a snake, which in the woods avoids man, comes to the house it is looked upon as *ma-king* and not killed.

⁴The Igorot, while *pidiu*, must not bathe, must not admit visitors into his house, and must not work, travel, etc. (English, "to be under a spell").

Mortuary customs etc.

English	Nabaloi
Dead body	ang-ai nan á-tei
Corpse of man	
Corpse of woman	
Corpse of boy	
Corpse of girl	adi-rum
Spirit or soul	
Grave in the ground	a-nai-boeg-ká-an
Scaffold for the dead	a-ra-dan
Grave in a cave	di-ang
Coffin	ko-long
Funeral festival	tó-xal; dab-sak
The wailing	dú-dyeng
Bark arm band worn around the wrist by members of mourning family	ka-ring bi-nal-bal
Funeral meal to provide departed soul with food; on occurrence of death	pa-u-dú-fan
Funeral meal at the tomb of a dead relative, with the idea of reconciling his specter by food, etc., offered to him	ma-u-ká-ten

Bodily conditions, etc.

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Sickness	}sa-kit	A blind man	}saxei a kú-rab
Pain		A blind woman	
Indisposition	kol-ko-li-di	A blind boy	}saxei a a-á-nak a kú-rub
Vertigo	bud-bu-ding-et	A blind girl	

Bodily conditions, etc.—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Headache	man-kil-kil e tok-tok	One eyed	a-tu-ni-ngan
Toothache	ket-ket	A deaf men	a-ti-leng
Cold	na-alng	A deaf woman	saxei a a-á-nak ati-
Ague	man-a-apul-ang-el	A deaf boy	leng
Fever		A deaf girl	ang-eab
Diarrhea	o-toi	Breath	ding-et
Rheumatism	pi-li	Sweat	chá-la
Smallpox	bul-tong	Blood	mi-mi
A boil	bal-og	Urine	tá-e
A sore	cha-nu-man i-na-ket	Dung	á-gas
A cut	i-na-ket	Medicine	man-á-gas
A scar	man-ka-pi-get	A medicine man	
A swelling	di-má-rag	A medicine woman	(1)
Beri-beri	man-bi-tot	Medicine dance, song, and lodge	
A sick man	saxei a man-aa-kit	A dream	dyó-kou
A sick woman	saxei a pi-lai	A vision	chim-kas
A lame man		A witch	man-malásik;? or,
A lame woman	saxei a a-á-nak a pi-lai	A wizard	man-tá-la ²
A lame boy			
A lame girl			

¹ In Igorot belief all kinds of sickness can be cured by the slaughtering of a pig, that universal remedy for all Igorot suffering, attributed mostly to the ill-will of the *ma-king* (departed souls). This cure is called *apas* or *chilus*; to make it efficient the *manbinong* (priestess) must be called in to go through the proper formulas or ceremonies.

² "The Malays of Menangkabao (Sumatra) call *palasik* or *palasi-ek* sorcerers which at nightfall separate their heads and bowels from the trunk. The head flies about to suck the blood of newborn children and lying-in women." (Translation from Blumentritt's *Diccionario Mitológico*, Apéndice, in *La Solidaridad*, 15 April, 1904.)

³ One is supposed to live in Balingway—name, *Si-atp-chas*—supposed to have cursed Cauao's father and caused him to move from Paduk to another town. Saved by putting spear in a dog between two bolos. Also one in Takian.

Amusements

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Doll	si-nan-to-o	Song	bá-deu
Gourd rattle	a-mal-yo	Dance	tai-yau
Stilts	ka-ma-chang	Mask	ki-yet
Swing	á-yud	Game at dice	pa-á-dek

New words

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Horse	ka-ba-dyo (Sp., caballo)	Hog	ke-chil
Colt	bu-má-lo	Cat	pusa; or, ngi-au
Bull	kal-ki-an nan ba-ka	Kitten	ku-ting nan pusa
Ox	ba-ka ka-fon; or, better, ba-ka a ka-fon (Sp.)	Cock	kao-i-tan
Cow	ba-ka (Sp., vaca)	Hen	u-bú-an
Calf	ki-lao nan baka	Saddle	sil-dya (Sp., silla)
Sheep	kal-nero (Sp., carnero)	Saddle pad	ap-ap
		Bridle	pirino (Sp., freno)
		Girth	din-cha (Sp., cincha)
		Rope	guá-net

New words—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Whip	bá-ras (Sp., vara)	Pants	kal-son (Sp., calson)
Crupper	pang-i-ko-la (Sp., baticola)	Shoes	sa-fa-tos (Sp., zapatos)
Auger	ko-ló-kol	Boots	bo-tas (Sp.)
Iron arrowhead	} du-djub	Slippers	si-ne-las (Sp., chinelas)
Iron point in general		medias (Sp.)	
Awls of metal	sub-dil; or, guis-guis	Handkerchief	pan-dyo (Sp., paño)
Beads	ún-no	Bread	tí-ná-pai
Broom	si-si	Flour	arina (Sp., harina)
Cloth	a-bœl	Rice, coffee, meal	tí-ne-peng
Comb (small)	sá-gú	Match, friction	mal-ko-sit ne ku-ra-bis ¹
Comb (big)	sa-gai-sai	Box of matches	ku-ra-bis
Clock	di-rus (Sp., reloj)	Candle	kan-chi-la (Sp., candela)
Knife (small)	tá-ad	Sugar	ding-kit am-putí
Penknife	dan-si-ta (Sp., lanzeta)	Soap	sa-bón (Sp., jabón)
Fork	tene-rol; te ne chol (Sp., tenedor)	Tobacco	tabako (Sp.)
Gimlet	ko-ló-kol o-ó-tik	Whisky	uisiki (English)
Hoe	kap-yun	Wine	á-dak
Hammer	pá-pa	Claret	kin-to (Sp., tinto)
Brass kettle	kambang	Finger ring	sing-sing
Iron kettle	kalchero (Sp., caldero)	Mirror	sam-ding
Tin plate	pin-kan na ka-ná-ka	Fan	pai-pai
Plow	a-rá-cho (Sp., arado)	House	ba-lei
Scissors	ka-di	Roof	bu-bung-an
Table	da-mi-sa-an (Sp., mesa)	Window	ta-ua
Watch	di-rus (Sp., reloj)	Door	du-so-kan; or, usokan
Pistol	pal-tog o-ó-tik	Schoolhouse	es-kue-da-an (Sp., escuela)
Revolver	Do-bel-bel (Sp., revolver)	Church	sim-bá-an
Gun	pal-tog	Gate	di-teb; or, pás-bul (entrance)
Rifle	chi-fie (Sp., rifle)	Barn	á-lang
Ramrod	set-set	Pencil	da-plis (Sp., lapiz)
Cannon	ka-nítin (Sp., cañon)	Pen	pluma (Sp.)
Bullet	bu-xel	Ink	tinta (Sp.)
Cap, percussion	kapsula (Sp.)	Paper	Pá-fel (Sp., papel)
Powder	bud-bú-ra (Sp., polvora)	Book	dib-cho (Sp., libro)
Saber	kam-pi-lan	Newspaper	di-ral-dyo (Sp., diario)
Brass	gul-sing	Road	chá-lan
Copper	kam-bang	Wagon	careton (Sp., carreton)
Gold	ba-li-tok	Bridge	tai-tai
Iron	dán-chok	Well	bú-bon
Lead	dú-bai	Railroad	ferro-carril (Sp.)
Silver	pi-lak	Railroad car	te-ren (Sp., tren)
Money	pi-lak; or, ka-meng	Railroad engine	maxina nen ferro-carril (Sp.)
Cap or hat	ok-dop	Steamboat	pa-vol (Sp., vapor)
European hat	sam-bi-la-cho	Telegraph	telegrama (Sp.)
Ilokano hat	ka-du-bong	Telegraph wire	bu-cheng
Coat (Black Light	sa-ke-ta (Sp., chaqueta)	Interpreter	mang-i-goat
	bá-ro	Blacksmith	dyu-fu-an
Shirt	bá-ro	Trader	man-via-xe (Sp., viaje, voyage)

¹ To make fire by rubbing a stick against another, *mangulidá*.

New words—Continued

English	Nabaloi	English	Nabaloi
Christian, professor of religion	ki-ris-tya-no (Sp., cristiano)	Claim, complaint	chik-dam-mo (Sp., reclamo)
Catholic priest	pa-re (Sp., padre)	Soldier	sun-cha-ro (Sp., soldado)
Law	din-teg ¹	Cabbage	chi-foi-dyo (Sp., repollo)
Lawyer	a-bo-gá-ro (Sp., abogado)		
Lawmaker	ma-ngi-din-teg		

¹ *Dinteg*, the same as the Spanish "derecho," means both "law" and "straight."

Personal names¹

MALE

Abadus	Busong	Kiral	Pataras
Agoyos	Chalus	Kiwung	Paulid
Akop	Chigot	Kolkol	Payad
Alam-am	Chimud	Kudiasan	Pick
Aleu-eu	Chuntugan	Kulgno	Piil
Alineu	Chupdi	Kullil	Pikipik
Alus	Chutkil	Kultet	Pinau-an
Anaban	Dalos	Kumangan	Pinisui
Angsil	Damsis	Lang-eu	Piraso
Apulog	Dangula	Laoyang	Poól
Askai	Dugis	Lomfris	Pukai
Ayaman	Gilit	Lubnas	Pukdis
Badanis	Guaxat	Lumaktao	Pukingan
Bagdalen	Impiso	Maleng-meng-	Salmeng
Bago	Ixang	Malintas	Saxal
Baias	Kalpo	Mangus	Silo
Baka	Kamanteles	Maranas	Sim-sim
Bantasan	Kambunil	Milo	Sioko
Bantayan	Kambutil	Mising	Sunchuan
Banug	Kamising	Motal	Tagak
Barot	Kam-ol	Mura	Takai
Baxes	Kamsol	Omaldio	Tekel
Bayangan	Karui	Pad-nus	Tekuan
Bias	Kial	Paknga	Toktokan
Binunga	Kiang	Palanyus	Uai-uaya
Buanse	Kichil	Palispis	Uakdin
Bukai	Kigangan	Palkungan	Ualis
Buktong	Kilguan	Palungias	
Busilan	Kil-os	Parisas	

¹ Ibalois, like the old Ilocanos, have the custom of changing their names at certain events in their life, as the death of a parent or a sickness, for others which they consider to augur better for the future. Their aversion to pronouncing their names when they are asked for them has already been mentioned.

ADOPTED SPANISH NAMES OR WORDS

Agusting	Domingi-(Dominguez)	Kifelmo (Guillermo)	Ofisina (oficina)
Akiral (Aguilar)	Durenso (Lorenzo)	Kolas (Nicolas)	Orasion (oración)
Alumno	Elias	Kuan (Juan)	Pafel (papel)
Alvares (Alvarez)	Espiritu	Kuanso (Juancho)	Pistola
Amistad	Fiansa (Fianza)	Maldiano (Mariano)	Sarate (Zarate)
Antondyo (Antonio)	Kadus (Carlos)	Mateo	Valches (Valdez)
Damaso	Kalpio (Policarpio?)	Montes	

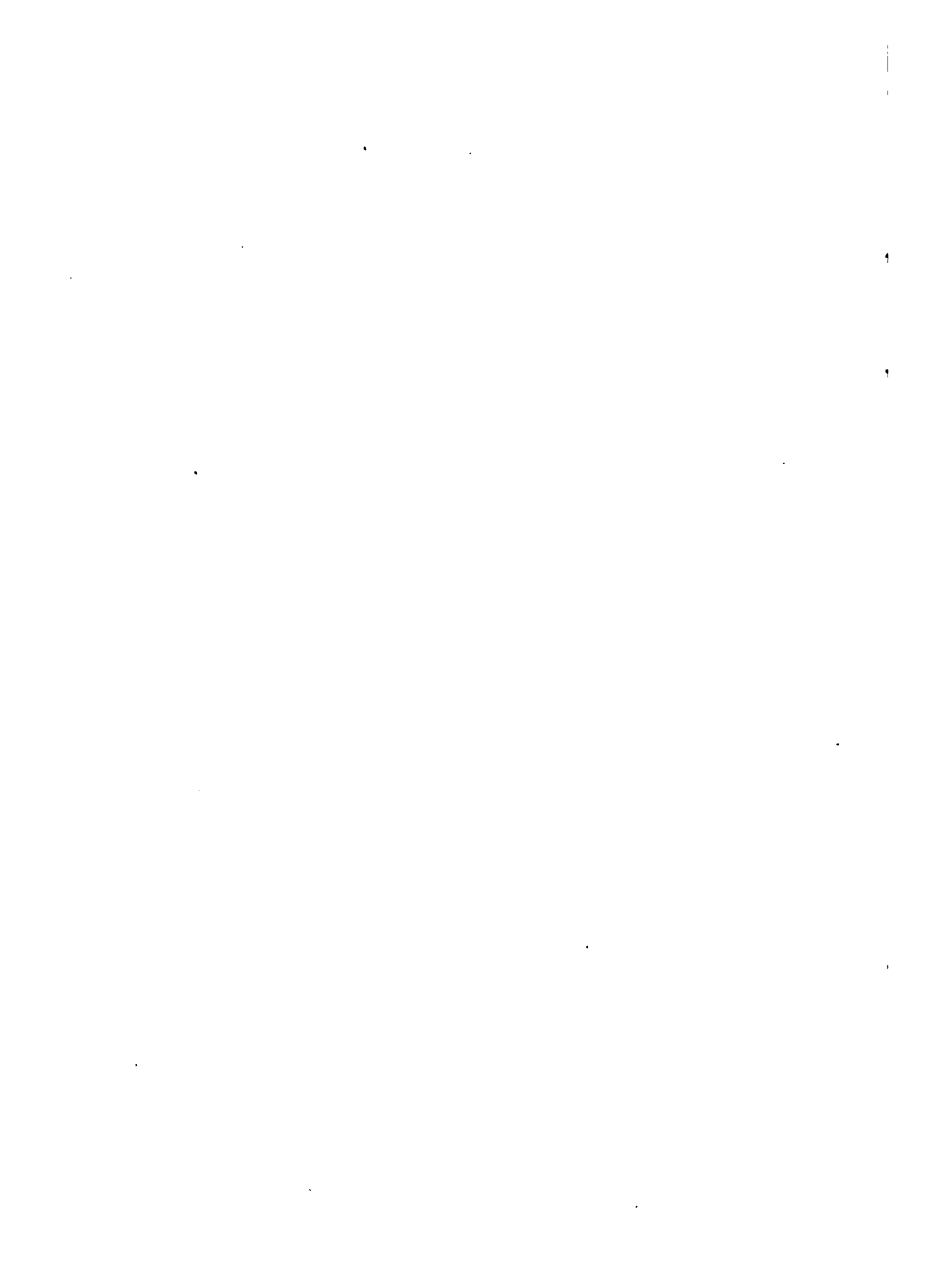
Personal names—Continued

FEMALE

Agamei	Dumdya	Katadun	Mulé
Bayosa	Dumina	Kichang	Polincha
Bidai	Indakas	Kindya	Saria
Bilnek	Kabingkut	Kintana	Sinaged
Buna-ay	Kalumis	Kotnon	Sulikam
Chadin	Kaobi	Kuft	Taabok
Chudimai	Karamel	Midaing	Tadaka
Dabudya	Kasima		

ADOPTED SPANISH NAMES

Elen (Elena)	Maria	Sepa (Josefa)
Kasinta (Jacinta)	Sabina	Tia



THE IBALOI IGOROT SEVENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

ACCOUNT OF A SPANISH EXPEDITION TO BENGUET IN THE YEAR 1829¹

[Translated from Informe Sobre el Estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842 (by S. Mas), Madrid, 1842: Diary of Don G. Galvey, in command of the forces for the suppression of contraband trade.]

This was the first expedition on which I penetrated into the interior. On my preceding ones I had not gone beyond the first mountain chain, as the large fields of tobacco planted clandestinely, which I had to destroy, detained me many days, and when my provisions were exhausted I had to return to the towns.

I had heard some Igorot say that beyond the great mountain called "Tonglo," which overlooks Santo Tomás and Agoó and is one of the noteworthy mountains of Luzon, there was a very large town situated in a broad and fertile valley the inhabitants of which were very rich and brave people and made war upon the pagans of the foothills. But no one of the Igorot who were my friends had the courage to guide me or even knew the road. They knew, it is true, the direction and the point where the town lay, but were not acquainted with the precise trail to be taken in the midst of so many ups and downs and intricate windings. At last I induced my first Igorot friend, Pingue, to guide me, promising myself to find the road, if I were to lose it, with the help of my compass. I assembled in Agoó two officers, three sergeants, six corporals, and fifty troops, with 200 polistas² to carry provisions and baggage, and in the afternoon of January 4 set out toward the east. Following the bed of the river of Agoó till 6 o'clock I reached a barrio of this town called "Tubao." Here I passed the night.

Fifth day.—I started at 5 o'clock in the morning to march toward the southeast, and entered the bed of the River Aringay. This we followed for one hour, until we reached the foot of the mountain, when we

¹The character of this expedition, which was only one of many similar ones undertaken by the intrepid Galvey, will be best understood by the following remark made by Mas in his Informe, chapter "Población," page 11: "These idolaters [the Igorot] cultivate in some regions immense fields of tobacco, which they introduce into the provinces. The consequence is the ruin of the tobacco revenue, the necessity of maintaining guards and troops to check this lawlessness, the extortions which these very officials commit in the towns, and, in short, so many expenses and troubles that it has been necessary more than once to send out special commissioners, and that this has come to be a question of arduous solution. In other regions they molest the peaceful Christian towns and render the roads so dangerous that it is not possible to pass over some of them without an escort."

² Forced carriers.—[TRANSLATOR.]

began to climb. This first ascent is very tiresome, and as the first mountains are thickly grown over, being covered with dense undergrowth, we marched with great difficulty. At 9 we arrived at a small village called "Pilauang," situated on a prominence from which the coast is visible. I was received by the headman, called Milo, but I found nobody else in the village, as all the inhabitants had fled, taking with them all their possessions. I treated Milo to the best, and he has since been very useful and loyal to me. At this place I had the rations served out. At 12 we pursued our march toward the north-northeast, wending our way up hill through a "cogonal,"¹ where, with the sun right overhead and reflected by the cogon grass, we suffered an indescribable heat. At 3 we entered a wood which we followed till 5, when we halted at a small village of eight houses called "Luceng." Its inhabitants had escaped, but I was received by an Igorot who brought me a basketful of camotes and other tubers as a present. This was the headman, named Pipuan. We passed the night here.

Sixth day.—We started at dawn after many difficulties. I obliged Pipuan to go in front, promising to set him free in the first village to which he should lead me. We marched toward the northeast. At 6 o'clock we saw upon a height a village which Pipuan told me was Munglan; we went on and reached it at 8. We found it deserted. We continued our march across fields of sweet potatoes, and going down hill passed a well in which we found a bow and arrow, the ground being sprinkled with blood. My guides told me that this was a very bad sign, since it signified that the Igorot wanted to fight us. I reassured them, and, walking on for an hour and a half, we arrived at a small plain called "Tabao," where I halted to give time to eat. My intention was to continue the march in the afternoon, but Pingui advised me to pass the night here because on the road ahead of us we would meet with many difficulties, in the midst of which it would not be well to be surprised by the night. I therefore resolved to remain, and posted sentinels around the camp to guard against a surprise.

Seventh day.—I started at daylight. After crossing a small valley we began descending through very dense cogon. We advanced very slowly, as we found the trail blocked up with trees laid across it, and a number of other obstructions. At 9 o'clock we heard wild shouts and perceived a crowd of armed Igorot on the opposite range. At the same time it became impossible to advance. The path was beset with small, very sharp-pointed pieces of bamboo, and some of *palma brava*² driven into the ground, and with deep pitfalls covered with grass and furnished with bamboo spears in the center. There was also another kind of trap, called "balitil" by the pagans, which is made by placing two drawn bows with arrows ready to let fly, concealed in the high cogon grass, one

¹ A tract of tall, sharp grass, often as high as a man on horseback.—[TRANSLATOR.]

² (*Oripha minor*).—[TRANSLATOR.]

at each side of the trail. From these bows a small and well-concealed string leads to the path, and when this string is trodden on the two arrows fly off with such force as to pass easily through a carabao.¹ Of these arrows, some are aimed so as to hit the body, others the legs. It was necessary to order ten men to the front who, little by little and with great difficulty and risk, removed the traps one by one, but not before these had wounded and disabled in less than an hour a sergeant and fourteen men, who afterwards had to be carried. Finally at 1 in the afternoon we reached the bottom of a ravine, where we found a river called the "Cagaling," which is the same stream that flows past Aringay and has its source on Mount Tonglo. We took our rations in all haste, as the Igorot were in a commanding position and our situation was critical. For this reason I wished to gain the height in order to pass the night in greater safety. At 3 in the afternoon I commenced the ascent toward the southeast. Halfway up the slope, which was very steep, rocky, and slippery, the Igorot attacked us with a shower of stones, but a volley from our side put the enemy to flight, with the loss of one man killed, whom they carried off. At half past 5 we arrived at a small level place on the flank of a mountain. We built our camp here and passed a miserable night, during which it did not cease to rain. This spot is very picturesque. At a short distance in front we had Mount Tonglo, round which we had walked and upon which we discerned a village; a big waterfall rushed down into the Cagaling River at our feet; toward the east were graceful hills covered with green, and toward the south immense pine forests with here and there a hut.

Eighth day.—We left the camp at 6 in the morning, marching southeastward. After crossing a small brook we climbed the hill called "Tamon." On top we saw a group of Igorot without arms who were shouting that they wished to speak to me. I ordered my men to tell them, in reply, to approach without fear; but they were unwilling to come near until I sent them two men as hostages. Thereupon four Igorot came forward and presented themselves to me tremblingly; they were from Benguet. They asked me whither we were going; I answered them that we were going to their town. "And what do you want to do in Benguet?" they asked. "See your country and make friends with the Igorot." They told me thereupon that they were sent by their headman, Dansalit. I presented each one with a handkerchief and told them to go back to Benguet and assure Dansalit and their other countrymen that they had nothing to fear, as I intended no harm to them. They went back to the others and all disappeared through the cogon, taking their way eastward through a ravine. In a moment they were out of sight and I took up the march again. At 8 I came upon the first pine trees; the road

¹Water buffalo.—[TRANSLATOR.]

became quite open—no cogon, no underbrush. This fact reassured me considerably, as I feared a surprise. I halted at 11 at a brook and had the rations distributed. At 1.30 I continued the march, turning toward the east. The country here is magnificent and, though it is hilly, one may go on horseback without difficulty. On all sides we found small valleys, some of them well under cultivation and all susceptible of producing whatever might be wished.

We saw large herds of carabaos, cows, and horses. The soil was red and sticky in some places. At 4 in the afternoon we discovered from the heights the beautiful valley of Benguet, the lovely sight of which surprised us all, so that even the soldiers gave vent to their admiration by joyful shouts. On coming nearer we saw a great many people running in all directions and shouting wildly. I commanded my men to load the guns, and hoisted a white blanket on a pole as a sign of peace. But it was all of no effect. I went down hill and on arriving at the bottom of the valley we found ourselves before a river of considerable size and of crystalline water. This we forded and shortly afterwards came upon the beautiful fields of Benguet. We had scarcely advanced a few paces when two Igorot planted themselves before us, spear in hand and shouting furiously. I ordered six men to run up to them and capture them—if possible, without doing them any harm. These men were attacked by the Igorot, who hurled their spears at them, one of which knocked off the sun helmet of a soldier, but by dint of blows with the butt ends of the guns the Igorot were at last disarmed and bound. They were drunk, and nothing was to be got out of them but menaces and insults. I directed my steps toward a group of houses at one side of the valley and there halted. Soon afterwards four Igorot were brought before me, one of them the son of Dansalit. They had been caught armed, hidden in a well. To the son of Dansalit I expressed my surprise at the reception they were giving us. I told him to go back and tell the headmen to come to see me on the following day and to assure them that no harm would be done them, but that if they attacked me I would burn down their village.

I put out my sentries and an advance post was on the alert all night. Benguet is a valley of a league and a half or more in circumference; it is surrounded with springs, and forms a basin. The soil was very well cultivated, with immense fields of sweet potatoes, gabe,¹ and sugar cane, but I saw no paddy in this tract of land. All was well irrigated and fenced in by dividing lines of earth after the manner of Spain, and provided with wells. The houses, which numbered some 500, were of broad pine boards but very dirty. It is in this valley that I have proposed to establish the capital of the district.²

The night was very quiet, but the bottom of the valley was covered with fog. It was very cold, and at 11 o'clock the thermometer stood at

¹ Caladium, a kind of esculent root.

² The word in the original is "Corregimiento"—that is, the district of a Corregidor.

7° above zero (Réaumur). We saw many fires on the heights, and at daybreak all the surrounding hills were covered with armed Igorot. I perceived at once that their intentions were not the best. I had two rations served out. At 8 the valley was full of pagans, who little by little approached our camp with shouts. I detached an officer with twelve men with orders to keep them back. Shortly afterwards he opened fire, but without thereby putting the Igorot to flight; and seeing the officer entirely surrounded by them, I started with twenty men to his rescue, leaving the rest of my troops drawn up in charge of the other officer. I also commenced firing together with the first officer, and we killed a number of people and captured twelve Igorot. We also had six wounded on our side. The Igorot retired little by little and were pursued by me as far as the hills after the firing had lasted four hours. It was already 2 o'clock in the afternoon. I returned to the camp, which I reached at 3.15, carrying with me my wounded, and the prisoners, who were all drunk. The pagans, on seeing me retire, came down the valley again and took up a position at a distance of a gunshot and a half. During the night half of us slept at a time while the rest watched, and we were alarmed only a few times by the shouts of the savages.

Ninth day.—At daybreak I found myself again surrounded by the pagans, who were more furious than the night before. I resolved to give them a lesson. I started with all my troops and carriers, firing and making for the largest group of houses. On the way we caught fifteen prisoners, of whom we left one who had his leg pierced by a ball. Arriving at the houses, I set fire to them, burning down some hundred and eighty, and returned to the camp followed by the Igorot and firing upon them while retiring. After eating I prepared to take up my return march to the towns. My two guides, Pingui and Pipiuán, had escaped during the heat of the fight, but as I had twenty-eight Igorot prisoners I had them put in front with orders to guide us till we should arrive at Aringay, warning them if they did not do this I would shoot them, but that if they proved good guides I would set them free. We started at 2 in the afternoon, going southwest and climbing one of the hills. The Igorot on seeing us leave followed our rear guard, but I kept them back by firing a few shots at them from time to time. At 5 I camped on a level place on a ridge called "Vaiara," where I passed the night quietly.

Tenth day.—I gave my troops a rest; during the whole day I saw Igorot only far off. We were surrounded by pine trees.

Eleventh day.—We broke camp at dawn, descending a very steep and stony slope with deep precipices on both sides. At 11 we halted and in order to make a camp had to cut the cogon and rattan with which we were surrounded. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon we started again

and descended continually until 5, when we halted at a brook to pass the night.

Twelfth day.—After following the brook from 4 to 6, we passed through a village of twelve houses called * * *.¹ The Igorot fled with much shouting; at 11 we halted in a wood. We marched at 2 in the afternoon toward the southwest and halted at 5.

Thirteenth day.—After some ups and downs, and after having cut down some tobacco, we reached, at half past 10, the village of Talex, where I had been already. The inhabitants received me. In the afternoon I went on descending toward the west, and at 4 camped on flat ground by a small stream.

Fourteenth day.—At daybreak I started, following the stream with much difficulty, and made a halt at 11 in Rongos, on the banks of the Aringay River. I started again at 2, following the river, and after having forded it four times I arrived at 5 at the town of Aringay.

This expedition, though short, served me well for those I made later, as the Igorot of Benguet shortly afterwards asked me for peace and have since been my friends. On different expeditions I have passed eight or ten times through their valley, and, far from attacking me, they have treated me with kindness, providing me with rice, cows, and other food. Still, as a consequence of this expedition and of smallpox, this town has been reduced to about a hundred houses. I am, however, doing everything possible to make it flourish again, and my highroad reaches there.²

¹A blank in the original.—[TRANSLATOR.]

²To-day there are only nine houses in that valley.—[AUTHOR'S NOTE.]

THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN



PREFACE

The following report on the Bataks of Palawan has been recently received from Lieut. E. Y. Miller, governor of Palawan. The additional information which follows his report is from two papers issued by the Division of Military Information, Philippines Division—the one, pamphlet No. 16, articles on the tribes of Palawan, translated by Capt. E. A. Helmick, Tenth Infantry, the other, an article in manuscript, by Manuel Hugo Venturello, also translated by Captain Helmick.

There is very little authentic information about these people of Palawan. So far as is known, the photographs taken of them by Lieutenant Miller, reproductions of which appear herewith, are the first which have ever been made of them. It will be noticed that Lieutenant Miller and the writers of the two other articles are in close agreement on such details as are given, one supplementing another.

There is at least one group of people in this part of the world who bear almost the same name as these Bataks of Palawan. They are the Battas or Battak¹ who live in the northern half of Sumatra, between $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ north latitude. Their neighbors on the north are the well-known Achinese, with whom the Dutch have been so long at war. The resemblance between the names Batak and Batta, or Battak, is probably merely accidental and does not indicate any early connection or relation between the two peoples. Marsden, in his *History of Sumatra*, page 294, says of them:

The Battas are in their persons rather below the stature of the Malays, and their complexions are fairer; which may perhaps be owing to their distance from the sea, an element they do not at all frequent.

Their complexion removes them a long distance from the Bataks of Palawan, as does also the fact that they have attained a considerable degree of culture. They have a language and written characters of their own, and a large proportion of the people can read and write. They were, it is true, some years ago known to practice cannibalism, but cannibalism does not necessarily indicate a low stage of culture, especially when it is practiced for ceremonial reasons. These references are made to the Battas of Sumatra to bring out the fact that, although

¹ Battak is the plural of Batta. See Keane, *Man: Past and Present*, p. 245, footnote.

the name is similar to that of the Bataks of Palawan, there is no reason for thinking there is any connection between the two peoples.

The courtesy of the officials of the Division of Military Information in permitting the use of their printed and manuscript information about the Bataks is gratefully acknowledged.—[Ed.]

THE BATAKS OF PALAWAN¹

The peculiar primitive people known as Bataks are to be found in the mountains in the interior of Palawan, about 40 miles north of Puerto Princesa, back of the coast villages of Babuyan, Tinitian, and Malcampo. They number about 600 men, women, and children. Among themselves they are peaceable and hospitable. Usually several families live in a single large nipa hut, divided only by lines or sticks on the floor to mark the limits for each separate family. Each small settlement is governed by an old man who settles minor disputes or takes them to the chief of the tribe.

People from other non-Christian tribes and the Christian Filipinos do not molest the Bataks or encroach on their territory because of the difficulties encountered in reaching the places where they live and also from fear of the blowgun, the favorite weapon of the Bataks.

They are a very shy people and do not mingle or intermarry with the other native tribes, so they have retained their peculiar customs. If a white person is seen approaching, the women and children will run to the jungle and hide. It is almost impossible to see even the men unless arrangements are made in advance with the chief to gather the people together and to assure them that they need have no fear. Gifts of food and tobacco and kindly treatment soon win their confidence. They are then no longer shy and their peculiar customs may be studied.

They resemble somewhat the Negritos of the Philippines, but seem more like descriptions given by travelers of the wild inhabitants of the interior of the Malay Peninsula.² They have long, kinky hair and thick lips, and some have hairy faces and bodies. The hair stands out over the head like a bush. They are small in stature, but well formed. The men are slender, but the women are usually fat. Fatness seems to be a mark of beauty among the young women.

They live close to nature. They do not cultivate the soil except to set out a few plants which yield edible roots, and in a few places plant small fields of rice. In addition to rice and roots their food consists of wild hogs, monkeys, snakes, lizards, and honey. Wild animals are killed by means of the blowgun, from which they shoot a small poisoned

¹ By Act No. 1363 of the Philippine Commission, enacted June 28, 1905, the name of the Province and Island of Paragua was changed to that of Palawan. In Volume I and in the first part of Volume II of the publications of The Ethnological Survey the name Paragua was used.

² The author is doubtless thinking of the Semangs, the name by which the Negritos of the Malay Peninsula are known, or the Sakais, a people of mixed Negrito and Malayan blood.—[Ed.]

dart. The wound from the dart is not severe, but the poison kills the animal in a short time. When the game is captured the hunter cuts out the meat from around the wound and throws it away. The rest is placed in a bed of coals and roasted. They have no cooking utensils.

Besides the little cultivating which they do, their only industries are hunting to secure food and gathering almaciga and copal tree gums which they carry to the coast and trade for rice, beads, and bolos.¹

Their only article of dress is made from the bark of the "bago" tree. This bark is soaked in a stream until it is soft and is then pounded between stones until it becomes thin and pliable. The cloth, when dry, is usually ornamented with colored lines or designs made by vegetable dyes prepared by the natives. The men wear only the breechcloth made of this bark cloth, and the women a short skirt of the same material.²

For personal adornment the women use dried grasses, shells, and beads, with which they decorate their hair. They wear also long strips of colored bejuco around their bodies, decorated bands of bamboo and shell on the arms and the ankles, and shave the eyebrows. Both men and women shave the part of the head in front of a line from ear to ear over the top of the head and anoint their bodies with hog's grease.

They are easily amused and seem to be happy and contented. Their only diversion is the dancing of the men; the women do not dance. Each dancer performs alone while a companion keeps time on a native tom-tom.

The marriage ceremony is interesting. The contracting parties, with an old man and woman, squat down on either side of a dish of cooked rice. The old people each take a ball of rice and exchange, then they hand the balls to the bride and groom, who exchange them again, after which they eat the rice and the ceremony is ended. Polygyny and polyandry are permitted, but seem not to be practiced at present.

The Bataks have an extensive knowledge of the use of medicinal herbs and roots, as is proved by the fact that the Christian Filipinos who live along the coast of Palawan go to them for medicines. When a death occurs among them the body is buried and a fire is built around the grave. The house in which the death occurs is abandoned.

Their religion seems to be a worship of the bird or animal that happens to abound in their immediate vicinity. Their language is similar to that spoken by Tagbanua and Palawan tribes of Palawan.

¹ Venturello says these forest products are collected by the Bataks "only when they are employed by Christian merchants."

² The skirt reaches from the waist to the knees. Venturello thinks it is "hardly decent, owing to the minuteness of its dimensions."

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE BATAK PEOPLE

The following information, derived from articles written by Eugenio Morales, of Puerto Princesa, and Manuel Hugo Venturrello, of the same municipality, is presented to supplement Lieutenant Miller's report:

The Negritos within the municipality of Puerto Princesa are distributed in the following settlements: Guinaratan River district, belonging to the jurisdiction of Malcampo, where the Bataks are without a chief or known representative, some submitting to the authority of the village, others being independent and living in the mountains of the interior; Caruray River district, in the jurisdiction of Tinitian inhabited by people of the same race living under the same conditions and with the same customs; Langugan River district, one of the most important in the municipality because of its large yield of almaciga (resin), bejuco (rattan), and other valuable natural products, occupied by Bataks who recognize the *cabeza*¹ of Tinitian as their chief; Tarabanán River district, settled by Bataks who recognize as chief one of their own number, a certain Lanawam; Babuyan River district, also important on account of its valuable products. There are two settlements on this river—one, called "Bayatas," located near the source of the river, a certain Barnal being chief; and the other, called "Maoyan," near the middle of its course, with a certain Siagauan as chief, who recognizes the authority of the village of Babuyan.

On the opposite coast are other settlements of Bataks in small numbers. At Caruray, on the Bay of Tibbon, is a tribe of Bataks with no known chief, but they recognize the authority of the *cabeza* of Caruray. Between Malcampo and Barbacan is located the settlement of Buhayan, which reaches from coast to coast. This tribe is called "Buhayanan." They are said to be the bravest and most independent of all the Bataks and to have preserved more of their savage customs than other Batak tribes.

A little to the north of Caruray and near the Bay of Tagdunan is found a tribe called "Tandolanen," who number about twenty, including men, women, and children. The people of this tribe live independently of the others, avoid all contact with them, do not form settlements or permanent dwellings, and occupy points and small islands, from which fact they get the name of Tandolanen, which signifies inhabitants of points. Their dialect is a mixture of Tagbanua and Batak.

These tribes with distinct names are well known, but there are wandering tribes that seem to have taken the name of an animal or bird or object where the chief or headman happened to be born; for instance, if the mother gave birth to a son under or near an ipil tree, he might receive the name "Ipil."

¹"Cabeza" is a Spanish word meaning "head" and was commonly used to designate the headman of a settlement.

Venturello says that in spite of investigations extending over twenty years, and notwithstanding his intimate relations with the native tribes, he has been unable to determine definitely the origin of the Bataks. This perhaps is not strange, but there appears no reason to doubt that they belong to the same race as the other Negritos of the Islands and are all that are left of a formerly more numerous group of Negritos in Palawan. According to information obtained from the old men of the tribes, the people of the west coast, especially of the settlement of Caruray, are the ones from whom the tribes of both coasts sprung.

Accounts given of the physical characteristics of the Bataks differ slightly. This is to be expected, as the people doubtless differ slightly in appearance from group to group, and the description given by an observer is based on some one small group and is not a generalization made from descriptions of several groups. These differences, however, are unimportant.

Thus:¹

As to color they do not present the true characteristics of the Negritos, but in their curly hair, thick lips, etc., they resemble that race very much. In stature they do not differ from the Tagbanuas and other Filipinos, some being tall and some short.

Venturello says of them:

These tribes all have the characteristics of the African negro. The kinky hair is noticeable, but the color is a little lighter and the lips are not so thick. They are generally of small stature, but there are not wanting those who very much resemble the African negro.

Rice is planted in such small quantities as to yield hardly enough to supply them for more than a few months or even days after the harvest. One writer says that they set out all kinds of plants which yield edible roots, but that these amount to little on account of the custom of planting in one locality one year and moving to another the following season.

The time of the year which they most enjoy is the season when bees are most plentiful. During this time young bees and honey form their principal diet, and as long as these last they do not think of doing any work. They are said to eat more than double the amount of food which a man usually eats at one time, but this is on account of the long intervals between times of eating.

Statements about the disposition of the Batak people at first appear conflicting. If they are peaceable and friendly, as a number of people who know them say they are, why are they feared by other tribes and why have they such a reputation for using bows and arrows against their enemies? The probable explanation is simple. It is quite possible that among themselves they are peaceable but that they have been

¹ Morales, Division of Military Information, No. 16, p. 26.



Photo by Miller.

PLATE LXXXVI. GROUP OF BATAK PEOPLE, SHOWING SHAVED HEADS OF WOMEN.

(Man on right has blowgun and bamboo quiver of poisoned arrows.)

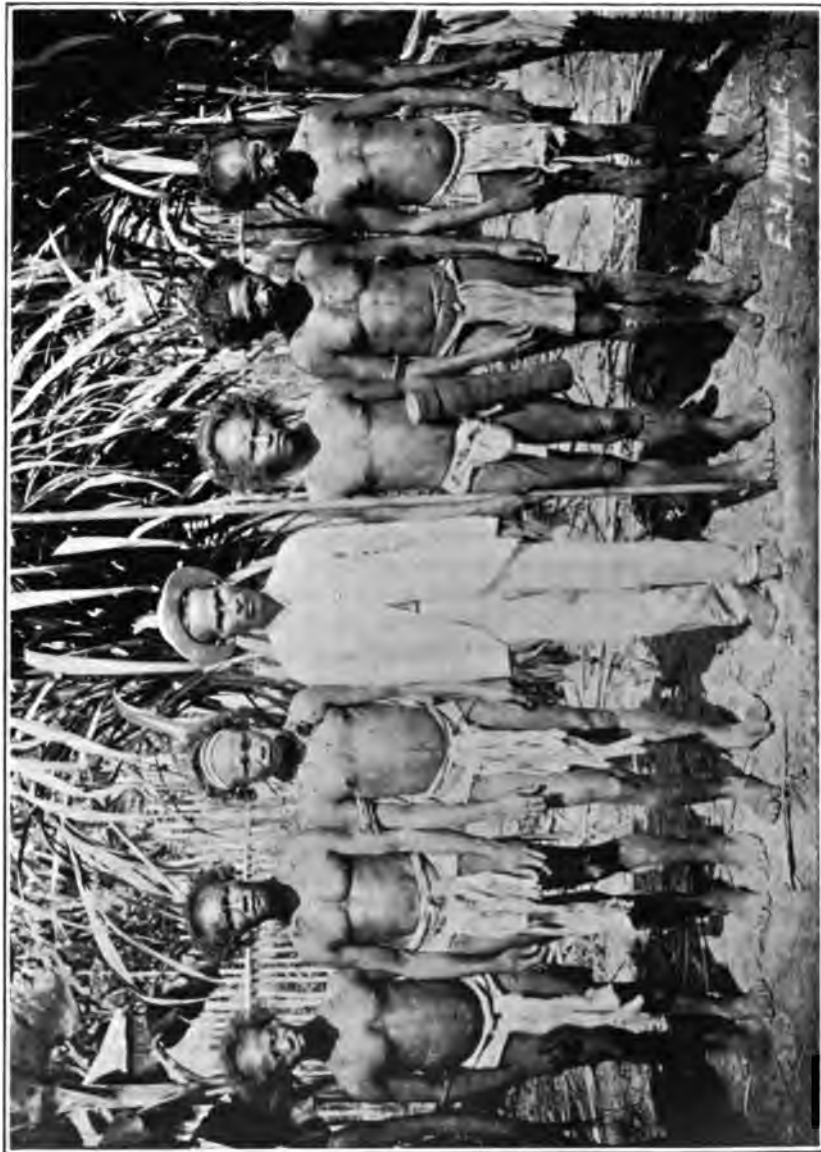


Photo by Miller.

PLATE LXXXVII. GROUP OF BATAK PEOPLE, SHOWING SHAVED HEADS OF MEN.

(One man has blowgun and quiver of poisoned arrows.)



Photo by Miller.

PLATE LXXXVIII. GROUP OF BATAK WOMEN, SHOWING FLAYED-BARK SKIRTS AND SHAVED HEADS.



Photo by Miller.

PLATE LXXXIX. GROUP OF TYPICAL BATAK PEOPLE, SHOWING CLOTHING, SHAVED HEADS, AND BLOWGUN.

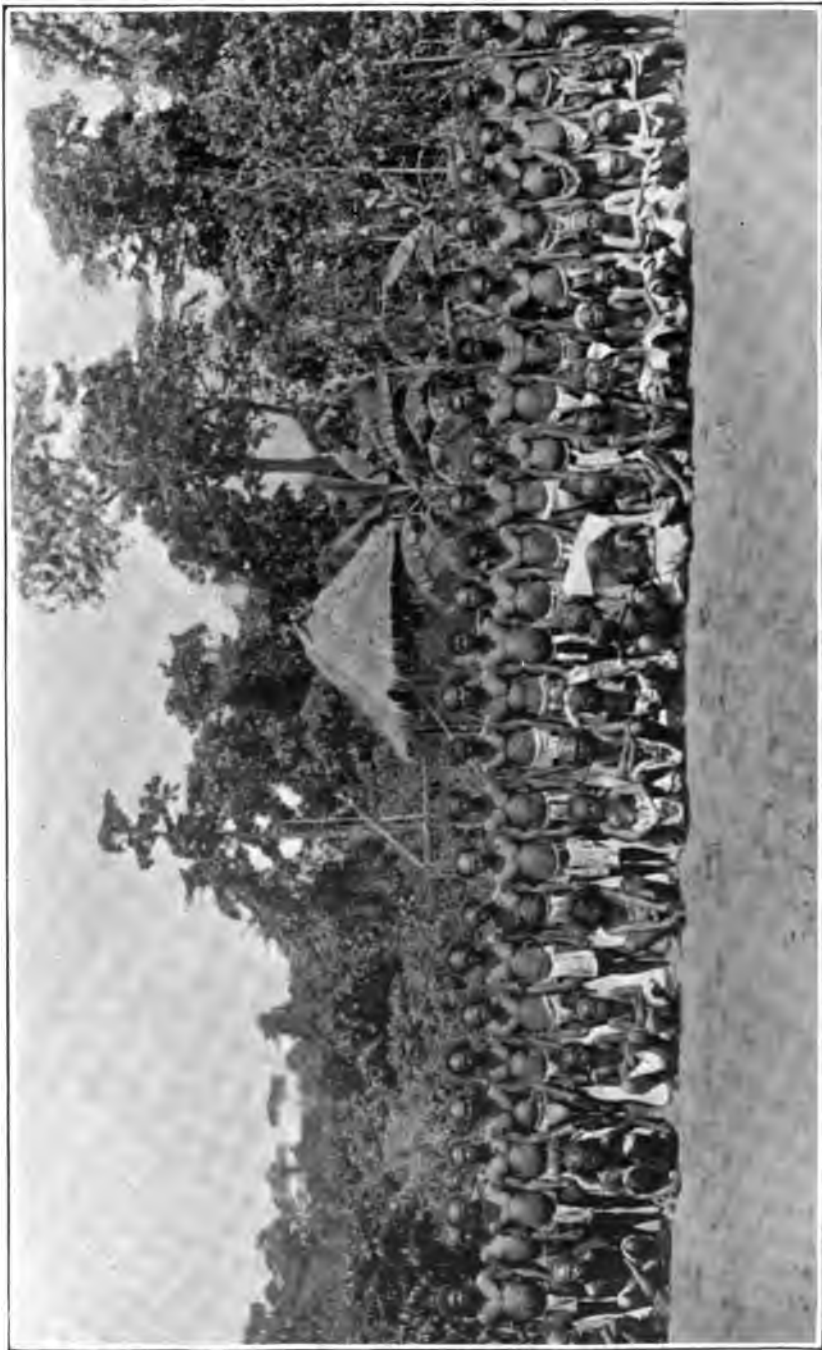


Photo by Miller.

PLATE XC. LARGE GROUP OF BATAK PEOPLE.





Photo by Miller.

PLATE XCI. BATAK RICE CEREMONY.

They have no means of writing as the Tagbanuas have. When one person wishes to communicate with another he makes use of an object that suggests the idea he desires to impart. The young of both sexes make use of this means of communication when they desire to express their love, and as it has been practiced from a very early age they can understand with great ease.

Venturello gives one of their religious myths which it may be well to present in full: These tribes, like the Tagbanuas, believe in the god called "Maguimba," who in remote times came among them at the calling of a Babailan to supply their necessities and to cure the sick and raise the dead. Having been deceived and angered at one time by the Tandolanen, all of the races from the east to the west of the island were cursed and deprived of their god. The following is an account of this crime against their god: One day the Tandolanen, wishing to test the power of their god, caught a large shark and wrapped its dead body in a nipa mat, and with false tears and bewailings called upon the god "Maguimba" through the Babailan.¹ It was the habit of the god to appear in certain cases in the form of a man, and so in this case he presented himself to the assembled people and asked where the deceased was, to which those present replied pointing to the nipa bundle in the center of the room. The god arose and blessed it and opened the bundle, when the shark was found to be alive and active as if it were in the sea. Upon seeing this deception the god was greatly angered and thundered forth a sentence, declaring that from that day he would cease to succor them when they appealed to him, and cursed them, declaring that all the tribes of their race would remain subject to all kinds of suffering and death, and that he would never again raise them from the dead. When he had said this a lizard mysteriously presented itself and spoke these words like a man: "Celi celi manli," which, being interpreted, signifies, "Your sons will succeed you, then you will die." And so it happened; to this day the people are greatly afraid to hurt or kill the chameleon, that sometimes turns green and puffs out his throat upon the approach of man. Should one of these little harmless animals fall on the right arm of a man it is considered a sign that the entire family of this man will soon die; but should it fall on the left arm it signifies the death of some relative only.

When this god separated himself from these people after the curse, they substituted for him the god Paraen who was married to Benguelen, whose powers extended only to the bodily ailments and who was called upon by the Babailan only when they were curing some disease. These people claim that when the god Maguimba became offended at the deception of the Tandolanen and left them he joined the god of the Christians.

¹ Babailan is a native Philippine word which is applied to an exorcist—a man or woman, usually old—whose aid is asked, especially in cases of sickness.

In a footnote to Venturello's paper Captain Helmick gives the following account of people whom he saw in Palawan. It would seem that many of the people whom he describes were not pure Negritos:

The few Bataks that I have seen confirm the author's statement as to their general appearance. Those I saw, with the exception of the chief, were below medium height, but had well-formed heads and splendidly developed bodies. One had decidedly frizzly hair, but the others had wavy hair and their lips were not so thick as the negro's. The chief was a man of medium size and well developed. I sent for them to meet me at the annual fiesta of the barrio of Tinitian, in the municipality of Puerto Princesa, Palawan. They could not be prevailed upon to bring their women, and were so timid that upon approach of my party they fled from the village and were persuaded with difficulty to return. Their dress consisted of a belt and breech pieces of bark which were certainly very much abbreviated, as the author [Venturello] states. Their arms consisted of bows and arrows and blowguns. They were so fond of the liquor prepared for them that nearly all of them became drunk.

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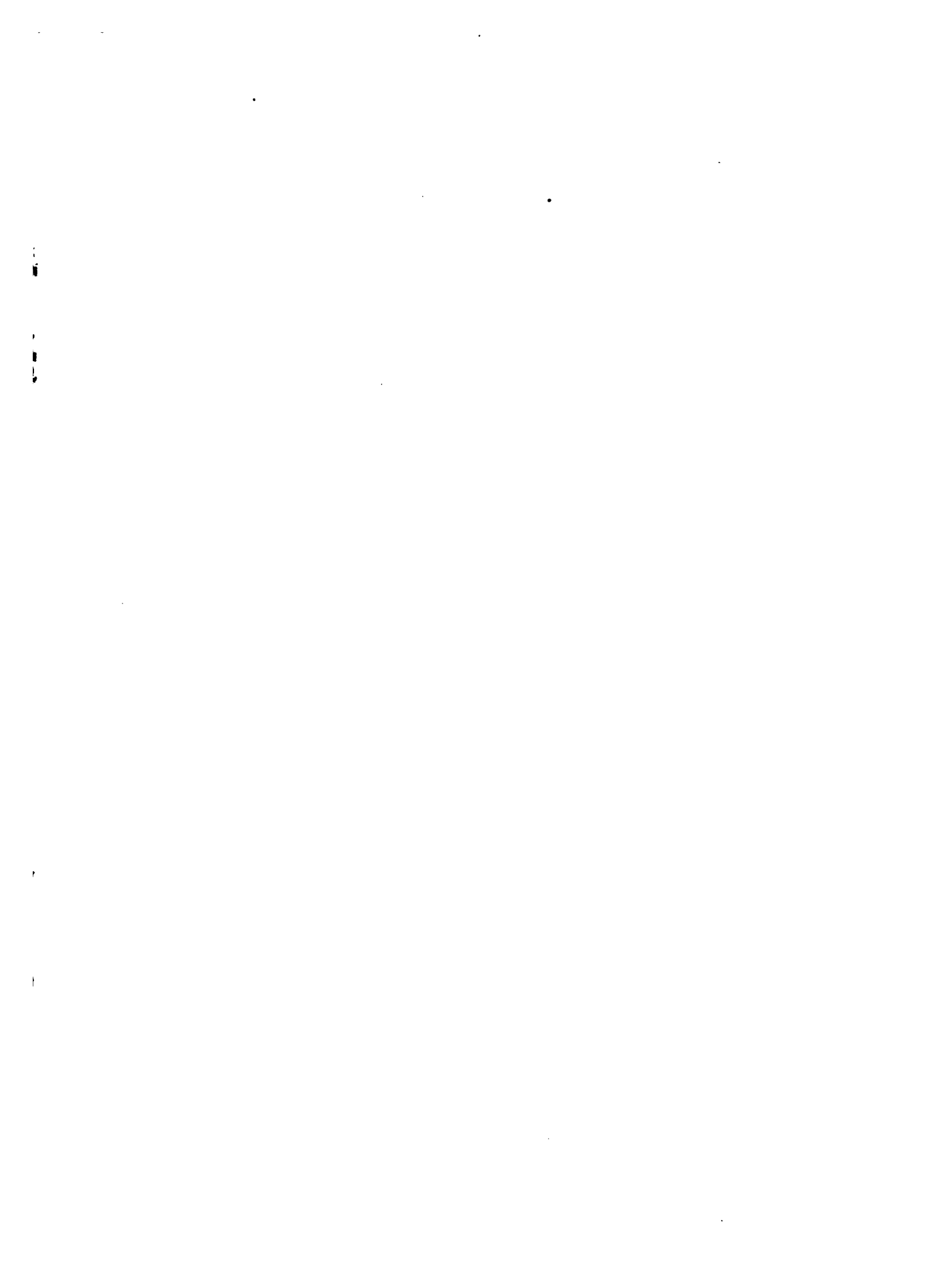
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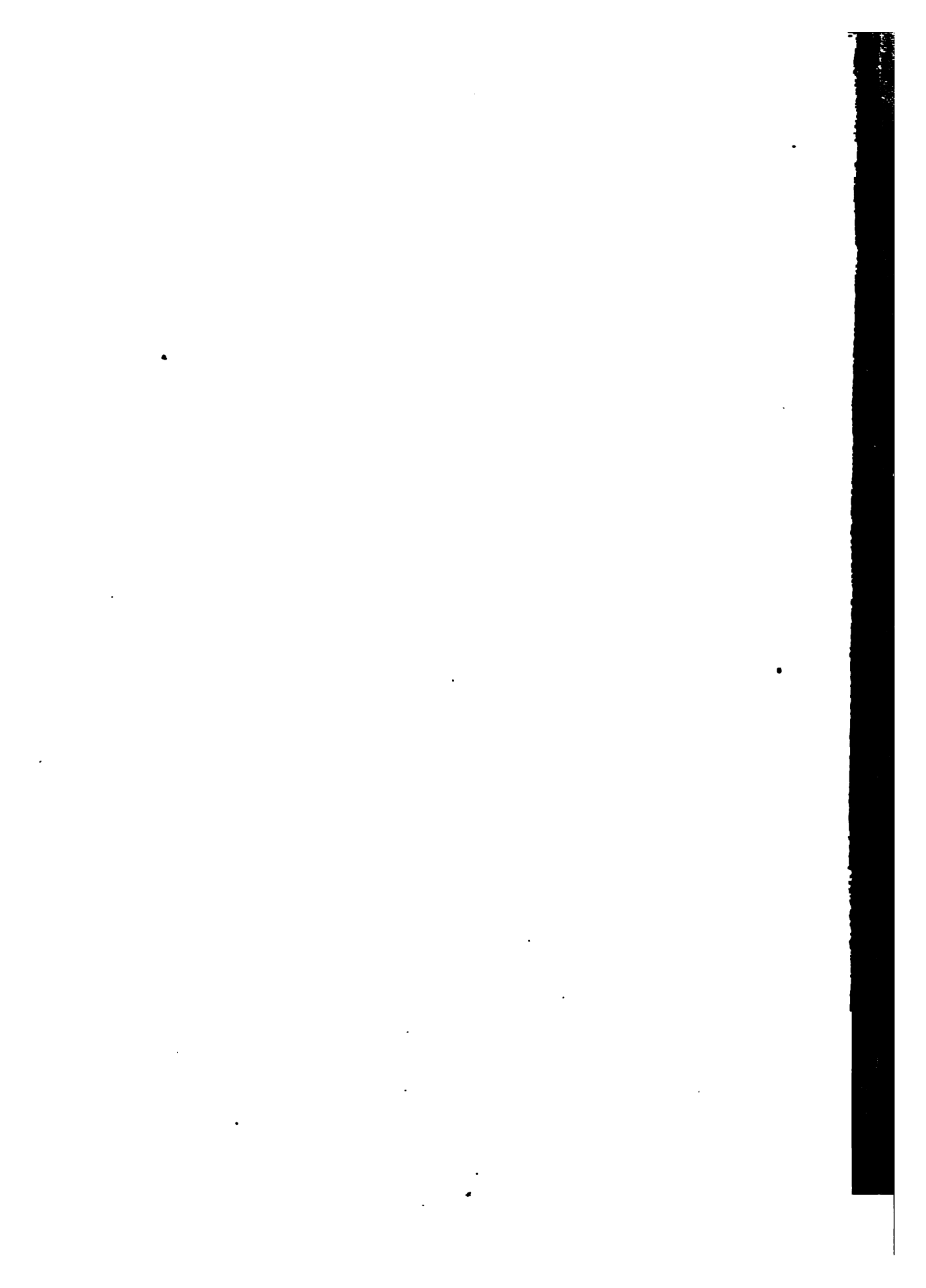
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